

Ethics and the Business of Schooling

Developing a Critical Realist Methodology

by

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Abstract

Absent from critical education policy analysis is a discussion of the ethical beliefs of those actors who mediate the effects of policy in schools and colleges. The assumed homology between businesses and schools, which underlies 'managerialism', generates ethical values that are often contradictory for those who are managed. The ethical aporias that emerge from managing schools as if they were a business forms the substance of this thesis.

Also absent from the literature that discusses the ethics of schools, teaching and educational administration is sufficient attention to the context and mechanisms of policy that shape the outcome of teachers' ethical beliefs and conduct. How policy may enable or constrain ethical beliefs is brought into consideration.

A critical realist methodology is developed to explore the emergent ethical beliefs of teachers, that is the managed as opposed to the management. Using ethnographic tools informed by critical realism, a sample of teachers from a secondary school and Further Education college were interviewed. This involved a discussion of a set of eight vignettes constructed on the basis of ethical problems that derive from the acceptance that an isomorphism exists between schools and business. Teachers were asked to discuss what aspects of managerial policies make their 'moral compass spin'.

The three data analysis chapters make a substantive contribution to understanding the ethical regime of schools as businesses, from the

perspective of 'the managed', and they also take critical policy analysis into the realm of ethics. The thesis is also an attempt to demonstrate and explore the possibilities of using and applying dialectical critical realist concepts creatively to an empirical problem. This involves testing the suitability of critical realist analytical strategies and techniques and is intended to address the present lack of guidance in conducting a critical realist qualitative data analysis in educational research.

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own. The word count (exclusive of appendices and bibliography) is 99,968 words

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Part I

Bringing Critical Realism to Critical Policy Analysis

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Business Ethics of Schooling

Back to basics

It's a time of transition for the secondary school league tables: this year GNVQs still have a big part, but soon they will be ousted as ministers put a new emphasis on English and maths at GCSE.

—Phil Revell, (19 January 2006 *The Guardian*)

Underpinning the above announcement of another change in the school league tables is an intriguing twist in the business of schooling. Thomas Telford School in Shropshire has for the past six years been extremely successful in achieving a 100% success pass rate in its own developed and marketed GNVQ ICT. This places it at the top of the league tables as a GNVQ pass is rated as equivalent to four good GCSEs and pupils taking the exam only have to achieve another GCSE in any subject at grade C and they have achieved the five grades at A*-C that is the benchmark for success in the

league tables. This e-learning course has been sold to over 1,000 other secondary schools in the country and there are well over 1 million students enrolled. Phillipa White (TES: 18 June 2004) reported 'One of the country's most successful secondaries has made nearly £9 million profit from selling its controversial online courses – and given more than a third of the cash away to local schools'. An act of successful benevolence or is there something wrong in schools conducting themselves in this way? The article suggests some disquiet not so much about the ethics of schools making profits but more about schools circumventing the indicators of competition in the league tables. As the article goes on to comment, "It looks as though schools are increasingly juggling with pupils' entries to maximise their score in the league tables," said Professor Alan Smithers who heads the centre for education and employment research at the University of Buckingham'. As a result the decision has been made to phase out GNVQs by 2008 and concentrate on the basics of English and Maths GCSE.

This study sets out to go 'back to basics' of a different kind as it raises the question what are the ethical beliefs of teachers caught up in the business of schooling such as in the example given above. It sets out to explore in Sayer's (2005:5-12) terms the 'lay normativity' of the managed in school with respect to the policies and actions of their management or what has been generically termed managerialist practices. This is not to make definitive ethical judgements about the rights and wrongs of management, but rather to recount the experience of being managed. This study is not making claims about managers per se but about the experience of being managed. Therefore, the substantive task of this thesis is to map out the structure of ethical beliefs of those who are managed in different types of schooling. The term 'schooling' is used to embrace the range of education from primary schools to Further Education and the empirical part of this study involved interviewing

FE college lecturers and secondary school teachers. Now operating in schools are routines and practices taken from the regime of marketisation and business competition that not all teachers feel comfortable with. One aim of this study is to explore the parameters of what teachers feel is ethically acceptable or unacceptable in the managing of schools as if they were a business. Alongside this I will be trying out for size a set of practical methods for critical realist research and data analysis. To do this there are several areas that I need to examine. These range from situating the project in relation to the critical policy analysis (CPA) in education of 'managerialism and the managerial school' (Chapter Two). But then I go on to conduct a comparison of the literature on ethical teachers, schools, and administrators through to business ethics (Chapter Three). This involves evaluating the impact of managerial policy in terms of such issues as do the teachers think it is ethically or morally right? By seeking out the ethical beliefs of classroom teachers, that is the managed and not the management, there is an aim not only to 'give voice' to those at the chalkface but also a desire to identify and also critique those aspects that are perceived as a constraint or ill on their ethical teaching lives.

This emancipatory impulse takes its momentum from critical realism (CR) and indeed as signalled above another major concern of this study is to develop the use of CR in educational research. This is a threefold aim. First, to use CR theory to assess, and make a contribution towards the policy sociology of education. Second, to make a contribution towards developing critical realist qualitative research in education and with particular attention to ethnography. Although this study is not a full blown ethnography, I utilise ethnographic tools informed by CR theory. Third, to develop the use of dialectical critical realism (DCR) in educational research and to demonstrate the applicability of its concepts in critical policy sociology.

To date there are few texts that have explicitly used CR to guide and inform empirical work in educational research and this study sets out to address this gap. The one example of a study investigating managerialism in schools was conducted by Willmott (2002). There have been several studies that have employed realist theory in education. For example, Margaret Archer's (1979) early work traces the development of education systems and this has been pursued in the work of Tone Skinningsrud (2005). David Scott(2000) has produced a comprehensive survey of realism and educational research and has situated it in relation to postmodernism (see Appendix 2 for Scott's ten principles of educational research). He has also employed critical realist concepts in the analysis of policy. David Corson (1990; 1991a; 1991b) was one of the earliest exponents to see the potential of CR with its focus on structures and mechanisms, for the field of education especially in relation to educating for diversity. In addition Rob Moore (2004) and Roy Nash (2002) have employed critical realism as a meta-theory for sociology of education. However, none of these writers have engaged with the dialectical turn in CR which started nearly fifteen years ago with Bhaskar's (1993) work. By contrast the one writer who has made a systematic study of this work and its applications for education has been Brad Shipway (2002). In addition John Schostak (2002: 194; 2006) has identified a particular schema from Bhaskar's (1993) work as a way of conceptualising qualitative data analysis in education.

1.2 Methodology

The move to employing dialectical concepts is considered both relevant and necessary, given that this study is concerned with the dialectics of business and schools, of the management and the managed, and the interrelationship of educational theory with educational practice. In the first case dialectical methods enable us to elucidate incommensurability, especially in relation to ethics between the two spheres to be explored. In the second dialectic there are matters of the ethics of recognition. In the third, there is the case of theorising the appropriate methods to fit an exploration of the object of study which is pedagogic practice. For example, to return to another news headline:

How heads bend the rules

A survey of head teachers' views has come up with a shock finding: a quarter of them admit they don't adhere to their school's policy on admissions.

—John Crace, (25 April 2006: *The Guardian*)

Here John Crace reports on how school admissions rules are being transgressed in order to get the 'right' kind of student intake. The competition between schools in a locality as indicated in exam performance league tables means some students are more sought after than others. This, as Ball (2006: 90) explains, is an item in the economy of student worth and forms part of a new moral economy. As Crace explains:

But it does raise questions about the level of trust a community can place in its local schools, if roughly 25% are allowing themselves greater flexibility than they openly declare in their admissions policy. How can parents make an informed decision about where to send their child – or, as is more often the case in inner-city areas,

about where their child is most likely to be accepted – if there is no transparency in the process?

To explore the ethics of this issue, I am concerned with the three dialectical questions mentioned above. Is this business competition model right for schools? Do the managed feel ethically comfortable with such a policy implemented by their management? How theoretically can we explore teacher lay values and normativity as part of and not separate from their pedagogic practice?

To each of these three questions the study does not intend to give a definitive answer. It sets out to explore theoretically and then empirically the perceived differences in the ethics of business and schools. It does so by employing ethnographic tools informed by critical realist theory. This involved interviewing a sample of twenty teachers from two different types of schools. The technique used in the interviews is to invite teachers to discuss eight vignettes which involve ethical scenarios like those in the two newspaper headlines above. The vignettes are based in fact but given the ethical sensitivity surrounding issues such as those above and other matters they were constructed to have a fictional setting. The vignettes are referred to early on in the thesis as a way of raising ethical dilemmas and so it is necessary to be familiar with their content. Each vignette is referenced from v1 to v8 and appear in Appendix 1. It is not until Chapter Five, in which issues of methodology are discussed at length, that I give a full account of their generation and use in the interviews. These and other ethnographic tools are employed to investigate the central research question which is, *'What (new) ethical beliefs are emergent from the business of schooling?'* Thus, this study is concerned with capturing the qualitative perspectives of the managed rather than providing a quantitative account of their ethical concerns.

1.3 Thesis Overview

The thesis may be summarised as being in three main parts, which correspond to the threefold aims mentioned above in using critical realism, and a fourth part which forms the conclusion. The presentation of critical realist theory and concepts follows a spiral pattern through the thesis rather than an elucidation in one central chapter. This is felt necessary for two reasons. First, to mirror the diachronic development of CR by introducing concepts from each of its five successive stages or 'turns'. Second, to avoid CR concepts being seen as infallible and 'set in stone', but instead retain its reflexivity as a meta-theory. This requires revisiting, rethinking and reworking concepts in terms of what is missing or absent from their initial articulation. The first part, Chapters Two to Four, provides an engagement with three areas of literature, namely critical policy analysis, ethics relating to schools and also business ethics. In these three chapters CR is described, a rationale for its use is explicated and then it is employed as a meta-theory to bring together and critique these different fields. The chapter sketches concepts and ideas that can prove productive as part of a critical realist analysis of policy. The second part begins the empirical work, and in Chapter Five, the methodology section, there is an outline of a method in critical realist qualitative research. Critical realist theory and concepts are used to explain and justify the use of the vignette technique as well as a 'theory –testing' rather than 'mining' approach towards interviewing. The third part comprises Chapters Six to Nine and is a continuation of the empirical work. This part of the study involves the analysis of the interview data and it takes a dialectical turn as it begins to utilise concepts and models from DCR. This is considered

a necessary turn in order to deepen our understanding of the content of education as subject matter. This is then taken further into Chapter Eight where concepts from the latest philosophical turn in CR, namely transcendental dialectical critical realism (TDCR) are employed in order to deepen our understanding of the dialectic of the management to the managed. Employing concepts from each philosophical turn, namely from CR to DCR to TDCR represents a process of reflexivity as concepts from the previous 'turn' are re-worked and progressively deepened in order to provide a richer conception of the subject matter of managerialism in education. For example, CR concepts such as structure, agency, and emergence are then meshed with dialectical themes and categories such as negation, negativity, becoming, process, contradiction. These are then further deepened and enriched with concepts such as transcendence, non-duality, and co-presence.

To provide some more specific detail about each chapter. Following a brief overview of the thesis, which introduces the idea that we should consider how a teacher's moral compass spins in relation to ethical issues that affect the 'managerial school', I proceed to Chapter Two. This situates the project in terms of the literature on policy sociology and draws from it six key themes or concepts that have been used throughout the thesis. These are (i) The concept of values drift; (ii) The distinction between the business of education and education as a business; (iii) The concept of a gap or distance in the relations between management and the managed; (iv) Performativity; (v) The importance of locality; (vi) The discourse of management. The chapter then addresses two questions that are relevant to developing a critical realist analysis of policy, namely: (a) What does CR add to our understanding of discourse? (b) How can the concept of explanatory critique be incorporated into critical policy analysis?

Chapter Three explores further the concept of values drift and considers its social construction through a critical realist lens. It then explores the 'ethics of teaching' then the 'ethical school', through a review of the literature in the philosophy of education. It concludes with a review of the 'ethics of educational administration'. This chapter therefore, provides an overview of the philosophical claim that education is an ethical enterprise and explores a notion that 'real' standards exist from which schools should not drift. It is not a straightforward account of the literature as some deficiencies are raised though using CR theory.

Chapter Four discusses the differences between schools and businesses and uses the concept of incommensurability as it has been employed in CR terms by Suzuki (2004). The lack of theoretical attention to the differences between schools and business is quite startling and this chapter argues that CR provides a conceptual framework to explore these differences. The chapter then examines the idea of contradictions that may exist between schools and businesses and examines the work of Bottery. This touches on dialectical issues which are then returned to in chapter seven.

Chapter Five explains the methodology behind the empirical work and outlines a critical realist qualitative method of research, which focuses on developing an ethnographic approach. There is a discussion of ethnographic writing in education and of a full scale critical realist ethnography that was conducted in a hospital setting. The ethnographic tools that were employed in this study do not form a proper and full ethnography but their use was influenced by the matters raised in this discussion. The chapter then pays particular attention to the theory and practice of conducting a realist interview, and the pros and cons of using vignettes.

Part three which involves the analysis of the data and the use of dialectical critical realist concepts begins with Chapter Six. Here a data analysis is conducted of the interviews with respect to mapping out the structure of ethical beliefs. It explains the need to employ concepts from DCR as a way of orientating the analysis. It employs two typologies borrowed from the business ethics literature. First, 'Eight Ethical Stances', which is a dialectical model and second, 'Sixteen Salient Features of a Moral Ethos'. This chapter demonstrates how the field of business ethics may have something to offer critical policy analysis of education.

Chapter Seven returns to and continues the work of Chapter Four but now by illustrating the concepts and associated issues surrounding incommensurability with examples from the analysis of the data that was gathered. Fleetwood's 'Four Modes of Reality' typology is employed to investigate differences between schools and businesses. This is followed by examining the four discourses of difference that are discernible from the data namely: (i) Replicability, (ii) Transferability, (iii) Visibility, (iv) Endurability. Drawing on business ethics the notion of a separate ethics of business is explored. The chapter concludes by applying a theoretical list about how to consider the contradictions that teachers identify when discussing the business of schooling.

Chapter Eight analyses forms of recognition between the management and the managed. Associated with recognition are the concepts of autonomy, trust, and 'othering', and these are discussed each in turn. In order to explore recognition further, the model of four-planar social being is introduced; this is used as a way of examining the concepts of power, ideology, and the fivefold forms of alienation. Another related model drawn from Bhaskar's (1993) dialectical work is that of the generalised master-slave dialectic. This is

illustrated with data from the analysis of one particular teacher commentary. Two further themes connected with recognition are that of first, in Bauman's (1993) terms 'adiaphorisation' or the processes of distancing in social relations and second, the notion that management work is inauthentic. The chapter then considers the absence of an explanation as to why is it that in spite of the distance in the social relations between management and the managed, most schools continue to perform to managerialist requirements such as league tables and Ofsted inspections. One approach to understanding this phenomenon is to use the concept of 'transcendence' as articulated by Bhaskar (2002a:140; Bhaskar 2002b:233; Bhaskar 2002c: 4) in his more recent turn to transcendental dialectical critical realism (TDCR) and which relates to a 'question of unity, unity with oneself or unity with something outside oneself' (see glossary Appendix 19). The chapter concludes that absent from CPA is a concern for the ethical and that this combined with the concept of transcendence would provide a deeper critical analysis.

Chapter Nine concludes by returning to the three parts of the study and summarising what has been achieved in each part as well as in the thesis as a whole. Thus in the first part it considers the substantive contributions CR can make to CPA, through points raised in this project. Second, there follows a reflection on the use of CR in the methodology of qualitative research, using ethnography as a marker. In the third part it considers the use of DCR concepts in qualitative analysis. Then consideration is given to what has been achieved in the project as a whole. There are clearly a number of dangers involved in setting myself both substantive, methodological and analytical goals. There are hostages to fortune and from the outset I was prepared to 'fail' in terms of carrying off a piece of CR research. Nonetheless, my argument is that in order to address the first substantive aim of the thesis I must work through all of the possibilities of a CR method and analysis. The

thesis concludes by indicating that the work in deploying DCR and TDCR concepts in educational research has only just begun and that there are plenty of opportunities for its development.

Chapter 2

Setting the Project within the Context of the Literature on Policy Sociology

In this chapter this research is positioned in relation to previous work that has explored the impact of marketisation in education. In §1 the terrain is set out, pointing to some specific features that distinguish the study from previous critical policy analysis. Then, in §2, attention is given to some of the substantive claims made by previous commentators that have informed the study. This section is a necessarily selective sweep of some of the literature that has specifically discussed the impact of the marketisation of education in relation to the inculcation of business practices and values in schools. Finally, in §3 the thesis is located in relation to the tradition of critical policy analysis in education. As a contribution to policy sociology there is a greater emphasis here on critical social science and in particular some CR caveats are made about the use of discourse analysis.

2.1 The Terrain of the Research

This study comes from the mould of the 'policy sociology' that has been used to research policy issues relating to the 1988 Education Reform Act. But the central area of focus in this study is the effect of policy on those who are managed rather than its construction and or implementation by managers. In

particular a concern is to explore further the work started by Ball (1994: Ch 8) into 'competitive schooling: values, ethics and cultural engineering ' and by Gewirtz (2002: Ch 3) into the 'ethics and ethos: conflicting values in the managerial school.' These are two key texts for this present study as they examine the specific issue of a mismatch between 'comprehensive' educational values and 'market' distribution and allocation values, (see Ball (1994) figure 8.1 p 146 and Gewirtz (2002) table 3 p 54 which appears in Appendix 2 reproduced as Tables 3.1 and 3.3). This reshaping of values within schools as a result of market and competitive forces has also been examined in Gewirtz et al. (1995) and is referred to as 'values drift' (see figure 5.1 p 150 which appears in Appendix 2 reproduced as Table 3.2). In a tabular form these three studies present opposing conceptions about the nature and purpose of schooling with an argument that the values of schools are drifting from comprehensive to market values. There is a fourth study that discusses these similar issues of management values as well as the wider processes of education policy and reform. This is the work of Bowe et al. (1992) and is a further example of the policy sociology to which I shall refer. However, at this point there is not a similar table of values on which one can comment. Ball initially (1994) provided six sets of values (e.g. for comprehensive values the focus is on individual need, commonality, resource allocation for the less able, a sense of co-operation and collectivism, assessments that are based on varieties of quality and that the education of all children is held to be intrinsically of equal worth.) These values, both comprehensive and in opposition those of the market, have been incorporated into nine values in Gewirtz et al. (1995) (e.g. for comprehensive values there is an emphasis on community needs, an agenda of social and educational terms and the values are integrationist). These are further incorporated into eleven values in Gewirtz (2002) of which the additional comprehensive values refer to 'student needs, and universalism', and that comprehensive values are 'distinctive'

rather than being 'emulative', as they are in the market. These values are the extreme ends of a continuum of ideal types but are useful in mapping out the transformation occurring in the values of schools as they become subject to policies reflecting more marketised practices. But there are several questions, informed by a CR perspective, that I would like to raise that forms a basis of this present study.

i. To what extent do teachers feel their values in terms of ethical beliefs are actually 'drifting', are being 'reshaped' or can be 'preserved' when the management of schools are now operating along business lines?

ii. What are the emergent ethical beliefs from 'chalkface' teachers or the 'managed' as opposed to the 'management'?

iii. Are the sets of values set out in these tables oppositional in that they represent aspects of an incommensurability of ethics between the spheres of business and schools? Do teachers believe in a notion of ethical incommensurability and where do they draw the boundary lines?

iv. If so what are the mechanisms generating this transformation of values from the comprehensive to the market for the individual teacher? In short the present study sets out to ask practising teachers how do they feel about this transformation in values?

These questions are not exhaustive but I would like to discuss them, in detail, as an illustration of how the terrain of this study is similar to the four texts previously mentioned, but that it pursues a different path. In contrast is a particular emphasis on investigating what teachers feel are the emerging ethical beliefs in schools now that they are managed more like businesses.

This can be considered in terms of how and where one might position the ethical beliefs of individual teachers in the three tables referred to above. For example how would teachers view themselves within the 'values drift' referred to in Gewirtz et al (1995: 150) and what ethical beliefs or theories do they hold firm when presented with such transformation? Or in terms of the 'mismatch' between comprehensive and market values as mentioned by Gewirtz (2002: 54), why the mismatch and where do teachers feel the parameters of the mismatch can be drawn? Or in terms of the reference by Ball (1994: 145) to the 'thick' morality of the comprehensive values of the public sphere and the 'thin' morality of market values, do teachers feel their own ethical beliefs thinning? Therefore, the first and second questions above, focus on the effects of policy in terms of ethical beliefs, and for individual 'chalkface' teachers. In contrast to the three studies mentioned, this study is primarily concerned with the ethical interpretations and meanings formed by the managed and not the managers. Thus the empirical focus is on the managed and no data is gathered from managers per se. This is not to enforce the perception that policy is top down and 'gets done to' the managed. Neither is it to convey the relationship of management to managed as a zero – sum game in which 'a finite and limited amount of power circulates between actors in particular social settings' (Scott 2000: 82). Instead, the concern of this study is to explore how the managed negotiate and interpret policy in terms of their personally held ethical beliefs. It sets out to conduct a specific investigation of how teachers situated in relation to management, with different resources and arranged settings, mediate policies leading towards market values through their own ethical beliefs. As with the previous studies mentioned this project also draws loosely on the methods, data and analytical procedures of ethnography, 'in order to generate critical perspectives upon the impact and effects of policy in local settings' (Ball 1994: 2).

This does not involve concentrating on uncovering resistance to policy, as there is an attempt in Ball's terms to go beyond the 'dominance /resistance binary' (Ball 1994: 11). Instead this is an analysis of how teachers that is the managed, mediate this previously identified 'mismatch' between comprehensive and market values. However, this is not to suggest that relations of power, domination and struggle are ignored. In fact they are central to this study but are approached differently to the four studies mentioned. In contrast this explicit focus on the 'managed' forms part of a commitment to critical social science and an interest in emancipation. This is absent from the work of Ball (1994), Gewirtz et al (1995) and Gewirtz (2002). Informed by CR, there is an objective to identify undesired structures and seek their replacement with desired ones. Of first consideration are the structural locations of the 'managed' and their structural relations with 'management.' This involves a framework of analysis known as explanatory critique and will be discussed at length in §3.

The second question raises the issue of incommensurability and the use and exploration of this concept is another feature that distinguishes this present study from the ones mentioned. Where Gewirtz refers to a 'mismatch' in values and Ball a contrasting 'thick and thin' morality of the public and private sector, I have set out to enquire are these facets of a now silenced discourse that there is an incommensurability between the ethics of schools and business. For example Ball (1994:107) commenting on the values of business and competition claims, 'It is again idealistically assumed that education values will remain unblemished by the demands of responsiveness and survival – evidence suggests that in reality they do not.' The reference to unblemished is a comment on commensurability and a sense that education values are re-shaped not for the better by an adherence to market values. To pursue this further then what requires examining is the ontological

differences between schools and businesses as institutions. This necessitates some mapping out of the ethical boundaries between schools and businesses and in what ways in Walzer's (1983) term they are different 'spheres of justice?' One approach to this is to examine the literature that has scrutinised the ethics of business and has a mandate for cleaning up any ethical blemishes. This turn to the field of business ethics in order to judge the ethical effects of policy differs to the studies mentioned. For example Gewirtz (2002: Ch. 7) concentrates on the concept of social justice in order to judge the morality of the policies driving the 'managerial school.' Gewirtz et al (1995: 9-13) employ the concept of equity in order to evaluate the distributional effects of markets on 'schooling in the marketplace.' Ball (1994: 144-5) makes reference to Nagel's (1991) distinction of the 'personal and impersonal duality of standpoints' in order to analyse the moral environment of the market into which 'entrepreneurial schooling' is developed. Whilst Bowe et al. (1992: Ch. 6) take up the specifics of new management methods for 'schools as an enterprise', they do not conduct an evaluation of the 'viability of different management models' (ibid.:140). Thus they do not take up issues of incommensurability nor assess explicitly the rights and wrongs of business management for and in schools. The turn to business ethics provides an opportunity to compare and contrast what makes an ethical business with an ethical school? This is not in tension with the previous studies but rather compliments them as it translates matters of social justice into an organisational level.

The second part of this third question asks where the 'managed' rather than 'management' would draw a boundary line to protect schools from a colonisation by business values. Bowe et al. (1992: 55) explain:

One point that was made time and time again in interviews and at meetings we observed was the danger of a wholesale transfer of commercial practices from industry into schools. Central here was a belief that the rhetoric of the market actually lacks subtlety. Most teachers are unhappy with the assumption that enrolling parents and educating students is exactly like marketing and producing baked beans!

The objective of this study is to map in greater detail what are the 'central beliefs' that teachers hold about notions of incommensurable ethics. When teachers express their unhappiness about this transfer of 'commercial practices' what ethical beliefs do they hold when explaining their disquiet? The other studies as well as Bowe et al., all do examine these concerns but as stated their focus is not specifically on assessing policy in terms of the effects on ethics, incommensurability, and the professional and ethical perspectives and practices of the managed.

The last question makes reference to mechanisms which is a distinctive feature of CR and this is the fourth area that distinguishes this study from the ones to which I have referred. The use of CR as a meta-theory to evaluate other studies is discussed below in §2 and §3 and later in Chapter Five where there is a greater elucidation of CR theory as it informs the empirical research methodology. But at present I want to make a few introductory comments in relation to the other studies.

From a realist perspective to have caused something is not about regularities between events that can be separated from each other. Instead:

Causes are about objects or relations and their nature. It is a matter of what causal powers or liabilities there are in a certain object or relation. In more general terms it is a matter of how objects work, or a matter of their mechanisms (Danermark, et al. 2002: 54).

These causal powers or liabilities are possessed by objects and their existence or exercise is not dependent on regularities among events or the constant conjunction of events as in the Humean sense. To illustrate this with an organisational example we can take the case of bureaucracies. Sayer (2004b: 11) explains that in virtue of their hierarchical structure, bureaucracies have the 'power' to process large volumes of standard decisions but have limited 'power' in dealing with diverse and complicated decisions. 'In both cases the causal powers and liabilities derive from the structure of bureaucracies including their insertion into larger structures such as the social division of labour, and their internalisation into smaller ones, particularly the dispositions and ways of thinking of workers and clients'. To illustrate this with a specific example from schooling. The introduction of Local Management of Schools (LMS) from 1990, a starting point for the four texts mentioned, can be viewed as conferring causal powers to school management that may or may not be exercised. Because of school contingencies the effects of the activation of these powers need not be regular. For example, Bowe et al (1992: 32, 78-81) discuss the transformation of the school and pupil relationship into one of 'producer' towards a 'customer or consumer'. With finance now driven by pupil numbers, marketing the school becomes important. What both Bowe et al. (1992), and Gewirtz et al.(1995), then explore in detail, is the varying marketing strategies adopted by schools, or in realist terms the exercise of marketing powers resulting from the contingencies of the schools. Similarly schools now have the power to peripheralise the contracts of those in the Special Education Needs (SEN) or Additional Learning Support (ALS) department but may not exercise this power and this is discussed by Bowe et al (Ch. 5) but not in these CR terms. When the school does try to exercise its power what ensues will depend on the context in which they contingently operate: whether there is a strong trade

union, whether the school image conveyed to parents is one of a strong commitment to SEN, whether SEN agencies exist, or whether the staff support the ethos of SEN. The process of identifying causal powers that are active in a given situation is called retrodution (see glossary Appendix 19). This involves explaining a pattern of outcomes by reasoning what properties are required for a phenomenon to exist. This places a different methodological emphasis for this study, and is in contrast to the ones mentioned above.

Firstly, greater attention is given to causal explanation with a focus on causal mechanisms. Secondly, following on from this, the mental states that mediate between the preconditions of action and the action itself are among the causes of the action. These are psychological mechanisms which include states of mind, beliefs, attitudes and so on that cause actions. This is often referred to as the 'reasons can be causes' issue (see glossary Appendix 19). Within CR it is accepted that what might produce change is reasons operating as causes. Sayer (2004: 13) explains how this may be an unfamiliar non-physical notion of causality and gives the example:

Thus, management's exhortations to workers may meet with a variety of responses. The fact that they might be construed differently by different individuals and hence do not form part of constant conjunctions or event regularities does not mean that they have no (causal) influence on behaviour.

Therefore, a head teacher may encourage members of staff to attend a weekend planning session in a hotel (v5). The variety of reasons why staff might be willing or unwilling to give up a weekend has causal influence over behaviour.

What this project attempts to explore are the reasons, in terms of ethical beliefs, that teachers may give for being uncomfortable with issues stemming from the running of schools along business lines. It sets out to map the structure of ethical beliefs of teachers as agents. Crucial to this is the concept of emergence which refers to the way in which particular combinations of processes or practices give rise to new emergent properties. Something new appears from the combination of structures, powers and mechanisms which is not reducible back to these constituents. For example, Ball (1994: 52) comments on the relationship of schools to 'consumers' as involving an 'ethics of impression management'. This is an ethical belief emergent from the introduction of LMS entrepreneurial schooling. It suggests that a favourable impression of the school is paramount in managing external relations but that this needs to be guided by a public service ethic that would exclude for example lying to parents. Whether this emergent property comes from an aggregation or a combination of factors depends on the relations between the components namely are they internal and necessary ones? For the teacher - pupil relationship this is a necessary and internal one. The two would not be what they are if the other did not exist. Or in other words they are roles, 'that are ontologically distinct from the individual people who fill them and whom they causally affect. The teacher-pupil relation is an irreducible emergent property because the powers deposited within the role modify the powers of the individuals as individuals ' (Willmott 2002:12). In contrast a teacher (or school)-consumer relationship transforms this relationship into one of contingency and where impressions should be managed.

What underpins this emphasis on causal powers, mechanisms and emergence is the claim that the world is differentiated and stratified. This is to suggest that reality contains not just one level of mechanisms below the surface events but that the mechanisms belong to different layers or strata of reality which

are hierarchically organised. This will be explained in greater detail in §5.2 but what is important to note is that this present work makes an explicit commitment to a social ontology that is not a feature of the four texts cited so far. This will become more of an issue when in §3 I turn attention to the use of the concept of discourse in policy sociology

2.2 Some Important Issues Drawn from the Policy Sociology Literature

In this section I outline some of the key issues and concepts that I have drawn from other works, and form a foundation for this research. In the §3 I discuss key works that have influenced the methods of policy analysis. In addition to the four policy sociology texts I have already referred to one other important text in a similar tradition is that of Whitty et al. (1998). These are five essential studies that have examined the educational reforms that have led to the promotion of the market model which ‘However, critics suggest that even if these reforms do enhance efficiency, responsiveness, choice, diversity (and even that they regard questionable), they will increase inequality between schools’ (Whitty et al. 1998: 4). From these studies there are six key themes or concepts that have been utilised in this research project. These are (i) The concept of values drift; (ii) The distinction between the business of education and education as a business; (iii) The concept of a gap between management and the managed (including steering at a distance). (iv) Performativity; (v) The importance of locality; (vi) The discourse of management. I shall outline the relevance of each of these in turn.

2.2.1 ‘Values drift’

How teachers feel in the midst of this ‘values drift’ transformation is of prime concern. Taking as a starting point the three tables of values discussed previously, (see Appendix Three) attention is given to how teachers feel about

this transformation and the effects it has on their ethical beliefs. Cribb and Gewirtz (2001: 46) summarise the term 'values drift' as 'a simplification, and reflects a general tendency –the effects of which are partial and patchy –not a universal before –and-after switch!' But the term is of interest as it conveys passivity, unplanned and ease of direction, in contrast to a forced transition, injection, or colonisation of values. How teachers view this transformation is explored through the lens of incommensurability. By this is meant identifying if or where teachers consider the two sets of values are not comparable, not appropriate or do not belong to each sphere of either business or schools.

2.2.2 *'The business of education rather than education as business.'*

This distinction made by Ball (1994: 67) is a further starting point for this study. For the purposes of this study the first is interpreted as referring to businesses involved in providing education for profit. Often unconnected with education in the past the possibility of profits attracts businesses into this sector. These can involve private businesses managing education authorities, (e.g. Cambridge Education Associates, Nord Anglia, Capita) or providing school buildings such as in Private Financial Initiatives (e.g. Amey, Jarvis, W.S. Atkins) or business sponsorship of Academy schools (e.g. The Business Academy, Bexley, sponsored by Sir David Garrard, Chairman of the Garrard Education Trust, or the West London Academy sponsored by Alec Reed, founder and Chairman of Reed Executive plc). Also related are activities which form part of outsourcing such as the provision of supply teaching, (Timeplan) or specialist careers guidance (Connexions) or specialist teachers for children with specific learning difficulties (Southover partnership). These are all examples of the 'business of education' (or the 'business of schools' (BoS)). The second case involves managing schools along business lines that is

education as a business (or 'schools as business' (SaB)). Following LMS of the early 1990s, this is now widespread. It necessitates that schools be considered 'as if' they were a business and are expected to adopt business practices of budgeting, marketing, recruiting, remunerating, and so on. The reference to 'as if' a business forms the greater part of the focus of this study. Managing schools 'as if' they were a business is a form of extended metaphor. Like any metaphor if a school management quizzes 'how can we be more like a business', this is a projection of ideas about one object (schools) into that of another (businesses). How such a metaphor operates needs to be explored and possibly challenged. Why make the comparison? In what ways are school values 'like' those of a commercial business or where are values incomparable? To consider an example, 'like' all businesses, cost cutting and flexible supply teaching contracts, set up core -periphery staff relations. But what do teachers feel is the ethical impact on their working practices of operating like a business in this way? This then is 'education as business', or 'schools are like a business'. This can also be equated with the term managerialism. The implementation of 'managerialist' practices into schools stems from this assumption that schools are like and indeed, should be more like a business. Throughout this study managerialism will be interpreted along the lines of Clarke et al. (2000: 9):

It is a normative system concerning what counts as valuable knowledge, who knows it, and who is empowered to act in what ways as a consequence [...] It can no longer be assumed that 'professionals know best'; rather, we are invited to accept that 'managers do the right thing.

The new managerialist conception of school management is contrasted by Bowe et al. (1995: 94) with a bureau-professionalism model or welfarism model as termed by Gerwitz (2002: 32). The form of management is 'generic'

(Ball 1994: 57) comprising transferable skills across all types of enterprises with the assumption that management problems do not differ between the private and public sectors. Whilst reference will be made to the specifics of the 'business of education' or 'business of providing schools and related activity' it is the effect of managerialism on the ethical beliefs of teachers that is the major thread through this work. Managerialism will be treated as synonymous with 'schools as a business' and often interchangeably with a broader concept of the business of schooling.

2.2.3 The concept of a gap or distance

Throughout these five studies reference is made to a gap existing between the management and the managed. The ethical dimensions of this gap is a core focus of this inquiry. Whitty et al. (1998: 12) in their comparative international study explain, 'The discourse of "new managerialism" may talk of flatter structures and facilitative encounters, but much evidence thus far suggests that, as the role of school principal is reformulated, the gap between the manager and the managed grows'.

Whilst Ball (1994: 72) recounts:

First, there is a clear division or 'gap' developing between school managers, oriented primarily to matters of financial planning, income generation and marketing, and classroom practitioners, oriented primarily to the demands of the National Curriculum and National Testing [...] But this is a 'gap' of values, purposes and perspectives.

Furthermore Gewirtz (2002: 78) observes:

there continues to be a gap in perspective between senior staff with a greater concern with the kinds of activities associated with running a business –like balancing the budget, recruitment and marketing- and teaching staff with a greater concern with classroom-based practices – like curriculum coverage, classroom control, student needs and record keeping.

This gap between the management and the managed has several ethical consequences. First, there is a downplaying of the ethical as the gap prioritises technocratic, allegedly value free, managerialism over ethical professionalism and 'social relationships are reduced to the 'merely utilitarian' (Ball 1994: 138). Second, following on, this entails an anti-Kantian manipulative ethic. The corporate values of the management are achieved through what has been termed by Kickert 'steering at a distance', which, Ball explains,

is an alternative to coercive /prescriptive control. Constraints are replaced by incentives. Prescription is replaced by ex-post accountability based upon quality or outcome assessments. Coercion is replaced by self-steering –the appearance of autonomy. Opposition or resistance are side-stepped, displaced (Ball 1994: 54).

Paradoxically the gap in 'values, purposes and perspectives' is maintained through management pursuing a distanced and hands off approach. But the management's close up focus, attentiveness, and responsiveness is geared towards the 'customer' which further generates ethical tensions. Fourth, this gap or distance which is sustained by diminishing the role of democratic participation, creates a 'them' and 'us' and removes the ethic of collegiality. Fifth, there is a distance created by management with the emphasis on measuring and monitoring teachers. This is a 'depersonalisation and dehumanisation of the teacher' (Ball 1994: 63) which serves to protect managers from the personal and human consequences of their actions. This leads on to the much wider issue of performativity.

2.2.4 *Performativity*

Gewirtz (2002: 89) cites Ball's definition, 'Performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation or a system of 'terror' in Lyotard's words, that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as a means of control, attrition and change'. She then goes on to explain how the discourse of performativity, 'undermines teacher autonomy and sociability, and it generates an intensification of the labour process of teaching, a refocusing – and narrowing – of pedagogic activity, and a concomitant shift in who and what is valued in schools' (ibid.: 89).

As with the three themes mentioned above the ethical beliefs of teachers caught in a web of performativity measurement is the object of study. What do they consider are the ethics of Ofsted inspections? How do they feel about subtle or explicit methods that attempt to name and shame colleagues over exam results? Or do they feel comfortable being involved in schemes that place a greater value on high performing students over those underachieving? The ethical beliefs of teachers may be drifting, or they may help generate or sustain an ethical distance with management, they may also be narrowing under the business of schooling with its concentration on performativity. The aim of this study is to explore these ethical issues from the perspective of the managed and in comparison to the concerns that exist in the field of business ethics.

2.2.5 *The importance of locality*

The local management of schools set out to promote institutional autonomy. The emphasis on the local was to bring about principally financial devolution from the local education authority to the school level. This would then free up the school to be more 'self-managing' and responsive to local 'consumer power' choices. Unfortunately competition between local schools has brought about a fragmentation of the local system as forms of co-operation and collaboration have been ruptured. The importance of space or geography in understanding 'locality' has been discussed by Bowe et al. (1992: 34-45). They point out that, 'the theory of the market actually sets itself *against* school community relations by privileging the relations between schools and individual consumers (Bowe et al. 1992: 36)'.

Further as Ball (1994: 119) argues, 'The system of choice presupposes a set of values which gives primacy to comparison, mobility and long-term planning; it ignores those cultures which give primacy to the values of community and locality'.

The dimensions of 'local marketplace relations' are analysed extensively in Gewirtz et al. (1995: Ch. 3). They point out that schools are set in quasi-and not free markets have no control over their spatial location including patterns of transport arrangements, traffic flows or natural barriers and are subjected to government directions. Furthermore that argue 'Education markets are also informed and constrained by the social meaning of locality and community' (ibid.: 58). As with the comments above from Bowe et al. and Ball the influence of the local is implicitly ethical. There is an underpinning 'ethic of care' directed towards those concrete others in the locality, especially children, as opposed to the strangers or others 'out there'. Indeed schools are

expected to be actively involved in the 'webs of attachments' of the local community (Ignatief 1984). But what do teachers feel about the fragmentation of the local under the business of schooling?

2.2.6 The discourse of management

Central to the five 'policy sociology' texts under review is their analysis of the effects of managerialism. §2.3 will comment on the use of the concept of discourse, but to conclude this section I want to draw attention to the ethics of management and suggest how I wish to proceed further.

Throughout these texts data appears largely from managers who comment on the ethical tensions they have encountered. These range from feeling uneasy about marketing tricks (Bowe et al. 1992: 57; Ball 1994: 134), through to treating children as commodities in terms of their value to the school (Gerwirtz et al. 1995: 138; Gerwirtz 2002: 76). But how do the managed feel about such issues? How comfortable are teachers with being the objects in a line management culture or using the value laden 'off -the -peg' language (see Bowe et al. 1992: 144) and practices of business?

There are two features, which infuse the 'managerial discourse' of these texts which is also influential to the present study. First, that the conceptualisation of new management regimes in schools comes from the work of Clarke and Newman (1997). In particular there are two themes underpinning new managerialism according to Clarke (1995) and these are 'universalism' and 'isomorphism'. The former is the view that all organisations are essentially the same and need to pursue efficiency. For this one requires management. The latter considers commercial organisations to be the most effective even 'natural' form of organisation and that the public sector is almost deviant.

Therefore the public sector including schools should become more 'businesslike'. These concepts inspire the attention of these five studies as they do the present study. Where the difference lies is that I wish to examine the possibility of a 'universalism' and 'isomorphism' of ethics. This necessitates a review of the field of business ethics in order to compare and contrast the ethics of the two spheres of schools and business. This differs to the approach by Gewirtz (2002: Ch. 7) who has employed the concept of social justice to evaluate the ethics of the 'managerial school'. Building on Young's (1990) five faces of oppression: exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence, Gewirtz conducts a social justice audit of post-welfarist schooling. This is a valuable exercise in itself but it is not designed to capture the extent to which the ethics of 'managerial schools' and businesses are universal and isomorphic.

The second feature of managerial discourse that I draw from these studies is a sense of 'management as moral technology' (Ball 1990: Ch 8). This term is Foucault inspired and conveys a sense of the top-down surveillance processes that are used to control the work of teachers. 'As a discourse with a scientific status, as a 'regime of truth', management empowers the manager and objectifies and subjects the managed' (Ball 1990: 165).

Again in this study I wish to question the ethics of management processes and investigate whether teachers are comfortable with them? MacIntyre (1985) has questioned the alleged value free science of management and is critical of the way employee's values are overridden and adapted to achieve the ends of the organisation. He argues that the dominant ethic is based in emotivism where 'all moral judgments are nothing but expressions of preference, expressions of attitude or feeling, insofar as they are evaluative in character' (MacIntyre 1985: 12). But as he points out the ends of the



organisation are also questions of value, but these are rarely discussed. As Ball (1994: 62) declares: 'The teacher is caught and crushed in the nexus between management and the market'.

Similarly in their commentary on the 'management of change', Bowe et al. (1992: Ch. 6) refer to the uneasy relationship of new management with 'existing notions of collegiality and professionalism' (ibid.: 145). They provide examples of 'the dilemma language of management' which perpetuate polarities in the dynamic of institutional behaviour such as certainty/uncertainty; forward planning/information deficit; rational planning/overload and disorder. To what extent do teachers feel that this 'dilemma language' impacts on their ethical beliefs?

To conclude from these five policy sociology texts and I have set out to explore further five key themes with particular reference to the ethical effects of policy. These form a starting point of inquiry with a battery of concepts, a framework for investigation, and some methodological foundations. Two other influences of a different genre of policy analysis will be discussed later on. The first is the work of Bottery (1990, 1992, 1994, 1998, 2000), who has examined extensively the differences between schools and businesses but has never employed notions of incommensurability. Second, is the book by Willmott (2002) which is a fully developed realist analysis of managerialism in two primary schools. This employs the realist social theory that informs the methodological basis of this study. However, it does not explicitly marry CR with the tradition of the critical policy analysis texts as discussed above. This is the task of the next section.

2.3 Critical Realism and Critical Policy analysis

Foucault's methodological insights has influenced much of critical policy analysis in education (See Olssen, et al. 2004: 54). The key studies that I have been referring to have either implicitly (Bowe et al. 1992; Whitty et al. 1998; Gewirtz et al. 1995) or explicitly (Ball 1994; Gewirtz 2002) used a concept of discourse theory in their evaluation of the impact of marketisation in education. Bowe et al. and Ball are more Foucauldian inspired and in her latest work Gewirtz (2002: 15) distances herself from forms of postmodernist theory that she terms 'celebration of indeterminacy'. Whilst this present study also pursues a critical policy analysis there are some reservations that need to be made about the use of discourse theory and in particular to express a distance from a sense of 'discourse idealism' that is felt to permeate some of these texts. This is not to shun the use of the term or deny the importance of its methodological insights but rather to suggest how CR can add to our understanding of discourse.

These texts are also examples of ' the self- proclaimed genre of education policy sociology' (Troyna 1994: 71) which is defined by Ozga (1987: 144) as 'rooted in the social science tradition, historically informed and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques'. The latter texts mentioned above of Gewirtz (2002) and Whitty et al. (1998) do not claim to adhere to the policy sociology title but they proceed within the same framework of 'critical policy analysis, post-structuralism and critical ethnography' (Ball 1994: 2). Troyna (1994) unconvinced of the substance behind the distinctive 'policy sociology' label of the earlier texts argued that they should go further than 'deconstructing the obvious' and follow the critical social research concern of,

'not only with unpacking reality, but suggesting ways of altering it; to provide genuine support in other words, in the struggle against structural oppression of discernible groups' (Troyna 1994: 82).

This is a sentiment I wish to pursue in this section where the 'emancipatory' impulse of CR will be discussed as a further feature that distinguishes this study from the texts under review. This will be discussed in terms of the Bhaskarian concept of 'explanatory critique' which has been allied with critical discourse analysis. This section then is divided into answering two questions: First, what does CR add to our understanding of discourse? Second, how can the concept of explanatory critique be incorporated into critical policy analysis?

2.3.1 What does critical realism add to our understanding of discourse?

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 28) warn that one of the dangers of discourse theory is 'discourse idealism' which sees social life as produced entirely through discourse. This is an accusation levelled at Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory which does not distinguish between discursive and non-discursive dimensions of the social. For them discourse is fully constitutive of our world. In contrast Chouliaraki and Fairclough see discursive practice as one dimension or moment of every social practice which is in a dialectical relationship with other moments of a social practice and that these moments adhere to different kinds of logic. Their distinction between discourse and non-discourse and different logics is drawn from the ontology of CR and in particular they refer to the concept of 'generative mechanisms'. In this distinction between the discursive and extra-or non-discursive, the discursive is one kind of mechanism working in combination with other mechanisms for example the economical, physical, and

psychological, to constitute a social practice. These mechanisms represent moments of every social practice which

have their own distinctive structures, which have generative effects on events via their particular mechanisms. Because the operation of any mechanism is always mediated by the operation of others, no mechanism has determinate effects on events, so that events are complex and not predictable in any simple way as effects of mechanism (Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 19).

Phillips and Jorgensen (2002: 70-71) describe each mechanism as having its 'own logic and must be analysed in its own terms using appropriate analytical tools'. But the term 'logic' misses some important aspects of the concept of emergence. First, events are generated by mechanisms in 'open systems' and caution is needed against importing a 'closed systems' logic, which comes from the experimental method of the natural sciences, into our analysis of social life. This is a frequent danger in educational research that tends to consider schools and classrooms as 'closed systems' where consistency and regularities are to be found (see Scott 2000: 39-42). Second, the relationships of mechanisms are stratified: one mechanism presupposes others but is emergent from one or any number of other mechanisms. Third, the concept of emergence entails that a mechanism has distinctive properties which are not reducible to other mechanisms. As Fleetwood (2004: 48) explains 'A bureaucracy has properties for processing information that are not found in the individuals that constitute it'. Or similarly schools generate league table exam results which are irreducible to individual teachers or students. Fourth, as described above in §2.1, reasons can operate as causes. But as reasons are diffuse and hard to identify it is better to consider them as 'emergent elements in more extensive networks of concepts, beliefs, symbols and linguistic constructions' (Sayer 2004: 13). Fifth, without employing the

concept of emergence the process of semiosis is difficult to explain. As Fairclough et al. (2004: 27) declare:

Semiosis – or the making or meaning – is a crucial part of social life but it does not exhaust the latter. Thus, because texts are both socially – structuring and socially – structured, we must examine not only how texts generate meaning and thereby help to generate social structure but also how the production of meaning is itself constrained by emergent, non-semiotic features of social structure.

Note a distinction here between the discursive and extra-discursive as well as the use of emergence. Thus school marketing brochures examined by Bowe et al. (1992) or Gerwirtz et al. (1995) will be of little meaning to parents located outside of the catchment area of the school. This non-discursive factor is an emergent material condition that will interrupt any attempt by parents to ‘read off’ the meaning of the school’s brochures for their child. To develop this further, take the example of Ball (1994: 67-72), where he describes school management texts as composing three discourse of management, namely the ‘professional, financial or entrepreneurial’, and asserts: ‘They have their different effects’ (ibid.: 67). This is recognised in CR where reasons and other discursive phenomenon may be causally efficacious. But ‘whilst discourse makes a difference, not all discourse makes a difference’ (Fleetwood 2004: 34). Within CR it is contingent whether causal powers are activated and, if they are, the effects depend on conditions such as the properties of other discourses and extra-discursive phenomenon. But as Sayer (2004: 7) explains:

Discourses are not mere reflections of material circumstances, but nor are material circumstances mere instantiations of discourses. Discourses are shaped through practice, in particular, through material and socio- linguistic contexts which have their own properties or tendencies, inherited from previous rounds of social construction or ‘structuration’.

Thus for meaning to be created from business management texts and the managerial discourse to take effect extra-discursive features must also be considered. As Ball (1994: 71) explains, 'Schools differ in terms of the extent to which any of these discourses become dominant and pervasive. The possibilities here are very much related to a school's history and market position'. The acknowledgement of a school's history echoes with Sayer's comment on the 'previous rounds of social construction or 'structuration'.

Distinguishing between the discursive and non-discursive is necessary in order to prevent the conflation of the two. This is something that Fairclough et al. (2004: 27) reject where they argue against, 'the Foucauldian-inspired conflation of discourses and material practices as one more instance of the "discourse-imperialism" that has infected social theory for the last two decades.'

They also argue that this conflation has eliminated the important distinction in CR between the transitive and intransitive dimensions of scientific enquiry. The distinction is in part a temporal one. The transitive dimension refers in its extended sense to everything currently being affected by human practice, from theories and discourses to the melting polar icecaps; the intransitive dimension to everything else, i.e. the human social sphere, including discourse and theories, as it has been fully determined prior to the moment of practice, and the natural world both as affected by past human practice and insofar as it is absolutely independent of any human practice (e.g. the laws of nature, which we may reconfigure but not change). The intransitive dimension is both existentially and causally independent of current human practice, though what is intransitive tomorrow will be in part affected by it. Thus, as Bhaskar says, '[t]he intransitive objects of knowledge are in general

invariant to our knowledge of them; they are the real things and structures, mechanisms and processes, events and possibilities of the world' (Bhaskar 1975: 22). The conflation of these two dimensions leads to what is known as the 'epistemic fallacy' which Bhaskar defines as 'the view that statements about being can be reduced to or analysed in terms of statements about knowledge' (Bhaskar 1975: 36). This is also summarised as 'transposing ontological matters into epistemological ones' (Sayer 2000:90). Critical realism gives priority to questions of ontology rather than epistemology. The main criticism of Foucault-inspired discourse theory is that it reverses this order of priority and ends up reducing ontological questions about what exists to epistemological questions about how we might obtain knowledge of what exists. This is a move encouraged in such a version of discourse theory as the belief that what exists is constructed by the very process of knowing.

To turn now to the role of discourse in the 'policy sociology' texts that have been under review. The two most Foucault-inspired texts are Bowe et al. and Ball. Bowe et al. do not reduce everything to discourse but according to Gewirtz (2002: 17) 'appear to be tacitly adopting a Foucauldian conception of power, as fragmented, fluid and always open to contestation'. As a result she argues there is a reluctance to examine macro-structures and a downplaying of the constraining impact of state policies. She therefore rejects the 'celebration of indeterminacy' approach.

In his discussion of 'policy as text and as discourse' Ball (1994: 22) cites Foucault's concept of discourse as

irreducible to language and to speech it is 'more' than that. We do not speak a discourse, it speaks us. We are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that a discourse constructs and allows. We do not 'know' what we

say, we 'are' what we say and do. In these terms we are spoken by policies, we take up the positions constructed for us within policies. This is a system of practices (marketing one's courses, promoting one's institutions) and a set of values and ethics (forcing unproductive colleagues to take early retirement so that they do not have to be counted in the departmental performativity returns).

There are two observations I would like to make about this use of Foucauldian discourse theory. First, whilst CR recognises that discourse both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices, the point that has been raised above is how to relate real powers in the social world to the performativity of discourse. The subjects that discourse can construct are constrained in real ways that is not acknowledged in the commentary above. As Sayer (2000: 44) explains:

Since what can be constructed depends on the properties of the 'materials' (including people, institutions and ideas) used in the construction, there is still a sense in which performativity depends upon practical adequacy [...] one that may ignore or suppress the activation or exercise of some of our powers in order to activate and construct others.

Therefore not just any ideas can be performed, enacted or imposed. Retiring an 'underperforming' colleague is perhaps more likely than firing them. Further treating the colleague as underperforming can in some degrees and situations succeed in making them underperform, but not always. Here the distinction between the transitive and intransitive, of thought objects and real objects enables a distinction between discourses and their effects. However, in this description given by Ball there is the danger of conflating discourses with their effects. Second, this concept of discourse is an example of what Archer (2000: Ch 1) would suggest contributes to the 'dissolution of humanity'. This she explains is where 'People are reduced to nodal points through which

messages pass, and the self becomes dissolved into discursive structures.’ (ibid.: 3). In defence against this Archer argues that there are ontological properties in the relationship of the way human beings are and the way the world is that can never be severed and that the ‘intransitive properties of human beings cannot be dissolved into the transitivity of language’ (ibid.: 3). Thus there is an unwillingness to accept this form of conceptualisation of discourse.

To conclude, what CR adds to the use of discourse theory as a method to analyse policy is:

- i. A distinction is drawn between discourse and the non-discursive. This maps across and is facilitated by the distinction between the transitive and intransitive domains of reality.
- ii. The importance of accepting social life as an open system means that the concentration on prediction and event regularities is seen as secondary to explanation. It also draws attention to the dangers of viewing schools or classrooms as closed systems.
- iii. An accent on the need to explore generative mechanisms of which discourse may be one of a number of mechanisms.
- iv. Attention is drawn to making explicit ontological and epistemological questions and not committing the epistemic fallacy. Critical realism raises ontological questions first. It accepts epistemic relativism that all discourses are socially constructed relative to the social position they occupy but this does not entail accepting judgemental relativism that all discourses are equally good (Bhaskar 1979).

2.3.2 How can the concept of explanatory critique be incorporated into critical policy analysis?

Critical realism offers an explanatory critique that starts with a criticism of certain ideas is then followed by a critique of the institutions and structures that produce them (See Archer, et al. 1998: 383). The aim is to point towards the need to understand, explain and possibly transform these institutions or structures. As Bhaskar (1998: 65) argues, 'Moreover, to criticise a belief or theory is ipso facto to criticise any action informed, or practice sustained, by that belief or theory, so [...] we pass to practical imperatives'. This approach offers a notion of an emancipatory social science that aims at enlightening people or facilitating their own self-enlightenment into ways of replacing 'unwanted determinations' by 'wanted and needed determinations'. This characterisation of social science as emancipatory has been criticised by Hammersley (2002: 48) who does not agree that 'through producing soundly based knowledge social research necessarily engages in critique of dominant ideas and institutions'. The position he takes is to endorse Hume's is/ought or fact/value dichotomy and argue that Bhaskar has not successfully crossed the bridge between a value principle to a practical value judgement. But exactly what is soundly based knowledge? To concur with Sayer (2000: 161), 'Any criticism presupposes the possibility of a better way of life; to expose something as illusory or contradictory is to imply the possibility and desirability of a life without those illusions and contradictions'. Though he does not use the term it is the absence of an emancipatory impulse that appears to frustrate Troyna in his criticisms of 'policy sociology'. Further in her criticisms of the 'celebration of indeterminacy' approach Gewirtz (2002: 15) expresses emancipatory aims: 'I would suggest that policy research can

contribute [...] first, by exposing the various forms of injustice and oppression which education policies can generate and second, by identifying spaces within which socially just pedagogies, practices and policies are emerging or can emerge'. Therefore, in contrast to the policy sociology that has been under review this study follows the framework of an 'explanatory critique'. The formal philosophical objections to Hammersley's position are set out in Hartwig (2007, entry on critical naturalism).

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: Ch. 4) discuss how critical discourse analysis is a form of explanatory critique. They outline the general form of explanatory critique as

(a) a problem, which may be either cognitive, for example, a misrepresentation, or an unmet need (the former is a transitive critique, the latter intransitive critique); (b) what obstacles there are to it being tackled; in some cases (c) what the function (including ideological function) of the misrepresentation or unmet need is sustaining existing social arrangements; and (d) possible ways of removing obstacles (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 33).

They then go on to explain the relevance of two types of explanatory critique to critical discourse analysis (CDA). The two types referred to are the 'cognitive' which starts from the identification of false beliefs, for example racist attitudes, and the 'needs-based' which starts from the identification of suffering or frustrated needs, for example knowing that someone is starving (see Collier 1994: 170-90). I shall outline the former cognitive type but the latter type is also relevant as within CDA there is an accent on communicative 'needs'. Within CDA the cognitive type is defined as a 'form or transitive critique of discursive constructions of practices (their reflexive element)' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 33). Here the intransitive object of the critique includes the actual discourses and practices it is analysing – for

example, the practices of an OFSTED inspection could be analysed which may involve ideational problems, problems of representation and miscognition. The transitive objects are the theories changed and the proto-theories produced by the activity of critique. Proto-theories are people's reflexive representations of what they do in their practices (Collier 1994) and are produced as an analysis of the practices that this cognitive critique is analysing. Thus, teachers that have been involved in the OFSTED practice already have theories or proto-theories of what the process is about. They may identify problems with the practice per se or in the reflexive construction of this practice. As a set of practices the inspection system is a moment of the managerial discourse of accountability, efficiency, economy and effectiveness. What needs to be separated out is discourse as part of the activity, or discourse in the reflexive construction of the practice, or both. This involves specifying the relationship between discourse and other moments of social practice and the part discourse plays in the practice.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 32) explain further that the role of critical theory is to transform proto-theories into scientific theories. If proto-theories are shown to be working ideologically and are helping to sustain relations of domination then the aim of critical social science should be to subvert the practices it is analysing. These proto-theories should then be shown as miscognitions and scientific theories should be produced to transform these practices.

To analyse Managerialism or OFSTED inspections we need to consider how these practices may depend on reflexive self-constructions which sustain relations of domination. Chouliaraki and Fairclough refer to reflexive self-constructions functioning in this way as ideologies. These ideologies are discursive constructions which act to 'iron out' contradictions or dilemmas in

practices, in ways which serve dominant interests. Fairclough (1992) has rejected Althusser's understanding of the social as governed by one totalising ideology that controls all discourse. Instead he believes that people can be positioned within different and competing ideologies which create uncertainties and ideological effects. He also considers that the concept of hegemony provides the means to analyse how discursive practice is part of a larger social practice involving power relations. Hegemony is based on a consensus rather than coercion but it is never stable it is always changing and incomplete – 'a contradictory and unstable equilibrium' (Fairclough 1992: 93). As domination-related constructions of a practice, ideologies are determined by the discursive relations between the practice and other practices. For example, 'managerial ideologies in education are discursive constructions of education which draw upon discourses which come from other practices that are closely tied in with contemporary practices or education – specifically economic practices' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 27). This distinction between ideology and discourse is, therefore, of central importance in understanding issues relating to the managing schools as if it they were a business. How do discursive practices of managerialism alter the reality of schooling? What kinds of business ideologies or ethics emerge in the practice of schooling? Critical discourse analysis provides the means to reveal ideological distortions in reality and also attempt to replace them with more adequate representations.

To this end Joseph and Roberts (2004: 5) argue for the use of ideology critique in exploring 'how certain ideas are *internally* related to the 'unobservable', though ontologically real, level and how these ideas reproduce and distort this level. Ideology critique thereby 'directs' discourse to the level of the ontologically real'. For example, to what extent and in what ways do managerialist ideologies connect with the ontology of schools? To approach

such a question would help to understand the manner in which social structures including the non-discursive are reproduced and transformed through various forms of ideology and discourse. Indeed, the use of 'comprehensive values' and 'market values' can be subjected to criticisms of ideology. Implicit in the 'values drift' literature is the assumption of comprehensive values tied in with the social ontology of comprehensives . But an ideology critique of 'comprehensive schools and their values ', which is not possible in this study, might prove itself to contain distortions.

2.4 Conclusion

To conclude this section and chapter some illustration of a form of cognitive explanatory critique can be made with reference to Gewirtz (2002). In her reservations about policy analysis influenced by postmodernist or 'celebration of indeterminacy approaches', she criticises their failure to expose injustice and oppression. This is a function of explanatory critique (See Collier 1998a). She further argues that these approaches have ignored, 'an increased subjugation of teachers, a closer alignment of schooling with capitalist values and the exacerbation of inequalities of provision along class lines' (Gewirtz 2002: 19). She then goes on to argue at the stage of explanatory critique where 'obstacles are to be tackled' that the overemphasis these approaches place on the diffusion of power 'inadvertently reinforces and supports neo-liberal versions of the market' (ibid.: 19). This is also an ideology critique. The course of this study attempts to follow along such a path.

This chapter has set out the distinctive approach that this study takes towards examining managerialism in schools. It builds on six notable recurring themes discussed in previous research but places a different emphasis on the use of the concept of discourse. The prime focus in this project is to analyse education policy within a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework which is akin to explanatory critique. In short this implicitly sees managerialism as an obstacle and steps should be taken to remove its influences. This is to make a theoretical shift that says we can go from 'is' to 'ought'. In perceiving managerialist practices as ethically flawed, we then ought to change them. Whilst this thesis does not analyse the practical resources for change, it does suggest in Chapter Eight a theoretical position which can help the process towards change.

Chapter 3

Values Drift

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I raised the question of values drift and the main focus of this chapter is to examine the substance of the values in schools that it is claimed are in drift. To this end the chapter will examine school values in relation to previous commentaries on ethics and schools divided into three areas. I provide first, a summary of the main themes concerning the ethics of teaching. This is a longstanding topic in the philosophy of education, from Plato's classic *Republic* to Peters' seminal work (1966) on *The Ethics and Education*. Through a review of some of the most recent texts in this field, I shall sketch out what has been considered to be the essential ethics of teaching. Along the way I shall argue that the current ethical context of, and ethical issues relating to, managerialism have been ignored by philosophers of education and that an inclusion of this needs to be re-addressed. This will start to prepare the ground for an examination in subsequent chapters of school ethics versus business ethics. Secondly, I examine the 'ethics of schools' and in particular some texts that serve as good examples of a prescriptive approach to building and sustaining an ethical school. Again it will be argued that these texts also fail to consider the potential ethical tensions that arise when schools are required to operate as a business. The third and less obvious

area through which to explore 'school ethics', is the literature on values in educational administration. This is a discipline with a long tradition in North America, and is widely recognised in Australia but is not often referred to in these terms in the United Kingdom. In simple terms it is presented as a 'science' of educational organisation and leadership but with a heavy stress placed on the values and moral character of educational leaders. Given this commitment to the values and ethics of education it is a useful area to explore in order to sketch out what the ethics of schools may comprise. In this section some cross referencing will be made between values theory models used in educational administration and with the phenomenon of 'values drift'.

In short this chapter probes further the question of what are the values of schools in order to then contrast these with the values of business. This is carried out through an engagement with some of the business ethics literature and in the analysis of the teacher's responses to the vignettes. In the literature under review, it is readily expected if not always the case in practice, that teachers, school administrators or leaders and schools as organisations should be ethical. However, this is not always the same for business where ethical transgressions maybe accepted as a feature of 'doing business.' It is implicit in 'values drift' that the values or ethics of schools are viewed as moving in a direction where they may be corrupted by a potential lack of ethics in business. Any assertion of this kind needs to be explored in depth and this is a central task of this study. What is the justification for this suggested hierarchy of school ethics and values above business ethics and values? What are the ethical boundaries for each sphere as suggested in the work of Walzer (1983)? Are there incommensurabilities between the ethics of schools and business? To develop these questions further if the ethics of teaching, schools as organisations and the administration of schools, can be mapped out then the next step is to consider are these ethics easily adhered to, if teachers and the

school are required to function along business lines? Are teachers and schools following a business model expected to cross ethical boundaries as a result of business values being incommensurable with those of schools? To attend to these questions, the background literature in school ethics needs to be examined and I also focus specifically on some aspects of business ethics. This and the subsequent chapter then provides reference points for the subsequent empirical work.

3.2 The Perception of Values and Values Terminology

Before discussing these three areas of ethics in teaching, schools and school administration, some clarification is needed of the terminology being used and some background to the approach that is being adopted. Then, I wish to outline the various ways values may be perceived and discuss ways that CR might be used to understand the term 'values drift'. I then want to conclude these introductory remarks by making some observations about the areas that cannot be addressed in what is a very wide ranging field of ethics and education.

The terms values, ethics, and morality tend to be used interchangeably but for the purposes of this project I adopt the broad distinction made by Fisher and Lovell (2003: 15) that 'ethics is a branch of philosophy and is therefore concerned with formal academic reasoning about right and wrong, but values are the commonsense, often taken-for-granted, beliefs about right and wrong that guide us in our daily lives.' Further that ethics tends to concentrate on a proactive sense of doing good, whereas morality tends to emphasise reactively not doing harm and that 'ethics, in these terms, can be thought of as

developmental whereas morality is judgmental' (Fisher and Lovell 2003: 30). But I also want to consider values from a CR position given that there has been a resistance to the devaluing of their role and importance in attempts to develop our understanding of social relations. For example Sayer (2005:5-6) has attempted to redress how:

The gradual separation of positive and normative thought that has occurred over the last 200 years in social science has involved not only an attempted (though incomplete) expulsion of values from science, but an expulsion of science or reason from values, so that values appear to be mere primitive, subjective beliefs, beyond the scope of reason.

Sayer's approach therefore, is to explore what he terms 'lay normativity', which is to treat seriously the lay normative thoughts and feelings that people have about the matters that affect their well-being. This involves examining how values are used to justify what we do. Central to this study therefore, is the exploration of the ethical beliefs and values that teachers adhere to when making sense of the managerialist pressures they may encounter. This is the normativity of the managed judging the managing.

In contrast Campbell (2003: 17) writing on the 'ethical teacher' avoids the use of the term values, and sees 'values as those non-moral preferences individuals hold in relative ways.' Her objection is that 'values' may be reduced to mere opinion and that this is an inadequate conception for the virtue based approach to professional ethics that she adopts. Campbell refers to Hunter (2000: xiii) who argues, 'The very word 'value' signifies the reduction of truth to utility, taboo to fashion, conviction to mere preference; all provisional all exchangeable.' Interpreting Hunter's complaint it might be suggested that one's 'values' might 'drift' but that one's 'ethics' would not.

This is to highlight a common sense view that one's ethics are often considered as more firm and stable than values. Fisher and Lovell (2003: 16) suggest that 'values are acquired informally through a process of socialisation' and that there is an emotional element attached to them. However, 'Ethics in contrast need to be studied, not simply learned, because they are more complicated ' and later they argue that 'the truth of an ethical theory cannot be judged by an opinion poll.' (ibid.: 16). This learned versus studied distinction is a useful one but in practice contra Campbell and Hunter, the two overlap as ethical debate helps to form values and social values may influence philosophers' discourse. Managing schools using business practices introduces business values. But does a school 'buy into' comprehensive or market values in a learned socialisation fashion or 'engage with' the ethics of the comprehensive school or the market in a studied approach? It is the tension that arises between what ethical theory prescribes for behaviour and the social values that incline people to behave a certain way that lies at the centre of this project. Understanding what the ethics of the school are and what ethical beliefs teachers use in appraising the managerialism in terms of their lived experience is what this thesis will elucidate especially in Chapter Eight.

The definition of values that I adopt here is that given by Rokeach (1973:5) namely that values are 'enduring beliefs concerning a particular behaviour, outcome or end situation which individuals or society prefer to another behaviour.' This emphasis on 'enduring belief' contrasts with a perception of transience or superficiality as suggested by Hunter. It also views values as simple and whole rather than the fragmentation that underpins Hunter's position. Within business ethics Fisher and Lovell have presented five ways of interpreting the values tension that may exist in organisations along a wholeness and fragmentation of values continuum. These are traditionalist,

modernist, neo-traditionalist, postmodernist and pragmatist. First, the traditionalist sees the values of the organisation as a whole and focuses inwardly on the perceived uninterrupted shared values. To give an illustration in the context of schools. The recent UK television experiment of returning to a 1950s type school provides an example of a traditionalist perception of school values (Berbridge 2003). In the management of this school any notion of fragmentation and difference in values is considered anathema. But, interestingly, this experiment was conducted as a response to the wide perception that values in society at large have fragmented. The aim of this traditional values 1950s school is to pull up the drawbridge from the surrounding fragmentation of contemporary values. Second, the modernist sees values as fragmentary but through rationality, (after Habermas (1990)) a re-unification may be possible. This rationality is of a critical and emancipatory kind and it is used to question the constraints that values may place on people in organisations. In terms of schooling for instance this approach underpins the notion of a community college as it aims to represent the wide and fragmented values of the surrounding community. The school or college is primarily involved in values clarification rather than transmission. It is worth noting in passing that in his critique of modernity MacIntyre (1985) argues against the possibility of a 'common education or educated public' due to this perceived fragmentation of values (MacIntyre in Haydon 1987). The third view is that of the neo-traditional where values are seen in terms of the function of culture. In organisational terms values can be deliberately manipulated in order to overcome fragmentation. Such a view is implicit in specialist status schools. Whilst these offer a 'specialist choice' to parents for their children, they also provide a 'glue' with which to bring about values cohesion. The tensions that lie with fragmented values are thus mediated by the cultural lever of promoting for example performing arts, sports, or modern foreign languages, whilst also serving to prepare students

for a role in society. In the postmodern view there are no eternal truths or values after (Lyotard 1984) and (Derrida 1976) and the words we use to express values have no fixed meaning. Organisational values involve different and multiple meanings that can only be understood by making cross references within a web of connections. It requires accepting that there is a permanent and unavoidable fragmentation of values and this is the view that approximates to the notion of 'values drift'. But before pursuing this, the fifth and last perception of values is the pragmatic view. This shares the scepticism about the possibility of objective truth and of a fixed hierarchy of values but is optimistic (after Rorty (1990), that maintaining a conversation about values can make things bearable in organisations. The introduction of school/business partnerships in the form of Academies, can be interpreted as a sharing of values without to quote from Rorty, 'worrying too much about their 'common ground', their unification, the 'intrinsic ideas' they suggest or what picture of man they presuppose.' (Rorty 1985: 168, cited in Fisher and Lovell 2003: 21). The pragmatic view accepts that there is confusion and conflict over the goals of a good organisation or society and therefore, discussion and debate with each other is essential and this is facilitated between schools and business in the form of Academies.

To these five conceptions of values I want to add a sixth, namely a CR view. I will illustrate this by considering two different conceptions of 'values drift'. The concept stems from a postmodern or more precisely in the case of Ball (1994) post-structuralist position. Values are viewed as embedded in a community of practice and what is held to be objectively true emerges through discourses that are embedded in power and knowledge relationships. It is understood that there is no meta-narrative that can adequately interpret the truth or otherwise of values. Instead values are rarely stable, they have variations in meaning and are susceptible to re-articulation

within and across these two value orientations of the comprehensive and the market. If this is the correct interpretation of values drift how does a CR view contrast?

Underpinning the treatment of values in CR is the rejection of emotivism and subjectivism and an adherence to a combination of moral realism and ethical naturalism (see glossary). Moral realism contends that 'morality is an objective real property' (Bhaskar 1993:259) which needs to be distinguished in terms of (a) the real transitive relational moral property, where the action guiding feature of morality varies through time and space and (b) the intransitive morality of 'an always already moralised (or a-moralised) world' (ibid.: 259), where there is an irreducibility of ought to is. It is therefore accepted that morality can change over time and in different places (transitive realm) but that an enduring property of the world (intransitive) is that morality continues to have a hold. The second concept, of ethical naturalism, denies there is an unbridgeable gulf between fact and value and argues that an understanding of ethics needs to be grounded in the nature of human social being. This involves relating ethics to human needs and capacities for flourishing. This is not to pursue subjectivism as human flourishing is considered independently of its particular observers and it is accepted that needs and capacities that are identified are always culturally mediated. Therefore, in terms of Fisher and Lovell's schema and the tension between the fragmentation and wholeness of values CR acknowledges fragmentation but places this alongside an holistic conception of human flourishing. To relate this to schools as organisations the plurality of values is granted but it is a project of emancipation towards human flourishing that unifies these values. Each school mission statement is invariably a declaration of a *holistic* project *of*, and project *for*, human flourishing.

Within this concept of values drift there lies this tension and 'struggle' between holistic (comprehensive) and fragmented (market) values in school. Alarm has been expressed over how comprehensive values that have 'provided a language and ethic of civic virtue in education [...] are now being destroyed by and replaced by market values' (Ball 1994: 145). But how can we argue which values are the most appropriate for schools? To answer this in CR terms involves engaging with notions of truth and without embarking on a comprehensive discussion in this area I want to suggest two approaches that can lead to affirming the appropriateness of comprehensive values. The first, following from Sayer (2000: 160), is to start by evaluating the values that are secreted in explanations and theories of social action and then choose the superior explanation. As he argues 'Values can therefore be assessed rationally via an evaluation of relevant explanations' (ibid.: 160). Comprehensive values secrete a judgement that human flourishing results from collectivism, market values secrete individualism. This is expressed in Ball's alignment of an ethic of civic virtue with Nagel's (1991) impersonal standpoint and the 'culture of self-interest' with a personal standpoint. But to establish what constitutes an improvement or emancipation will be unclear until the culturally specific needs and obligations that entail human flourishing have been decided upon.

A second approach is to engage with notions of the 'truth'. Thus, it is claimed to be true that comprehensive values are the more appropriate for schools as they promote emancipation and human flourishing. To avoid a descent into relativism where what is true is agreed upon in terms of correspondence, Bhaskar (1993: 217) has set out four conceptions of truth of which the last and 'grounding' conception is that of alethia (see glossary Appendix 19). This is described as 'the truth of or reason for things and phenomena, not *propositions*, as genuinely ontological, and in this sense as objective in the

intransitive dimension' (ibid.: 217). This refers to what lies behind a well established proposition such as a scientific law (water boils at 100°C), or a moral truth (murder is wrong). Bhaskar has further elaborated alethia as a

higher order proposition, the truth of that truth-the reality that generates it, that is the atomic structure of the crystal, the nature of the wavelength of light that is reflected in a certain way. What makes it true, for example, to say that if Socrates is a man, he must die is that it is the nature of human beings to be mortal. It is a proposition at a higher level, and it is this higher level truth that grounds the truth of the universal generalisation, the proposition which is expressed in the absolute conception of truth (Bhaskar in Norris 1999: 50).

This is a stratified model of truth where at the higher level, 'There is no getting away from ontology' (ibid.: 50) and what grounds what is true is the real nature of being. I would argue that what follows from this is that the 'true' values of a school therefore, are to be found in the ontology of schools and the problem of the market and its secreted values is that it does not embrace ontology. Comprehensive values however, are ontologically aligned with the emancipatory reality of schools. To take this further it could be argued that a belief in managerialism for schools is rational but not necessarily true, because higher up from the base strata the epistemology can be misaligned with ontology. As Shipway (2002: 171) explains: 'It is possible for a truth to be true in the transitive dimension (in the sense that a particular epistemic community is "using" it) and untrue in the intransitive dimension (in the sense that it is misaligned with alethic truth).' For example, in CR theory which stratifies reality into three domains of the real, the actual and the empirical, we can observe at the level of the actual and empirical systematic belief in managerialism for schools but what I want to suggest is that these strata are out of phase with the domain of the real (see §5.2 and Table 5.1 for a full elucidation). A belief in managerialism helps to navigate ways around schooling but this belief is not aligned with alethic truth or the

actually existing external reality. The belief in managerialism and market values is part of a social structure and mechanism that is misaligned with the emancipatory reality and comprehensive values of schools. The truth of managerialism is therefore, intersubjectively true but alethically untrue 'and both the untrue truth and the alethic truth are positioned within a stratified and out-of-phase reality' (Shipway 2002: 171). Therefore, we can explain the disquiet about values drift as being an 'out- of- phase reality'.

To turn attention now to the specific use of the term 'drift.' In post-structuralist terms this evokes a social ontology 'of a centreless web of heterogeneous relationships, none of which hold universally, and in which each location is unique' (Sayer 2000: 72). Through a CR lens the term 'drift' begs questions of causality. How much of this drift can we attribute to agency or can we claim that drift involves a 'transformation' in cultural and social structures? The analytical dualism of Archer's (1995) morphogenetic approach offers a methodological way of addressing these questions. In this account the ontologically separate properties of the culture of comprehensive and market values (the cultural system or CS) is distinguished from that of agents drawing upon these properties (Socio-Cultural interaction S-C) from which emerges an elaboration of those structures (morphogenesis) or their reproduction (morphostasis). This shifts the focus as we move from pinpointing where school values lie along the spectrum of one to one binary correspondences, to the search for the causal mechanisms generating the emergence of comprehensive and market values. To be more specific this means investigating the emergence of for example 'an emphasis on individual performance rather than individual need', or the emergence of 'an emphasis of resource allocation on the more able rather than less able' (Ball 1994: 146). To do this involves prioritising the necessity of relations (where causal powers and liabilities reside) over how they are ordered. The variety of

necessary and or contingent relations that determine the occurrence of comprehensive and market values then becomes the centre of investigation. As schools are open systems the activation of these causal powers is unlikely to produce a stable regularity or order and so the focus in CR becomes 'a theory of determinations rather than (pre-) determinism' (Sayer 2000: 73). Therefore, this CR re-conceptualisation of 'values drift' embraces a deeper and stratified, as opposed to flat, ontology.

To conclude this section I would like to point to three areas that this chapter does not intend to pursue. Firstly, much of the ethics and educational administration literature is centred around conceptions of leadership (see (Begley and Johansson 2003; Begley and Leonard 1999). However, I do not intend to engage in the 'styles of leadership' debates, nor the attempts to map out the moral dimensions of leadership. To do so would be to reverse the focus of this study from the ethics of classroom teachers or 'the managed' to the ethics of 'the manager'. (In a more elaborate CR project this could be done and would centre on mapping out the structure of ethical beliefs of those implementing potentially unethical managerialist policies). Further, such a concern involves conflating the ethics and values of a school as an organisation with those of an individual leader. It also suggests a one way causality where the values of organisation are caused by its leaders. Instead the focus is to uncover the 'lay normativity' of teachers that at times pass moral judgement on the policies actions and values they find in school leaders and managers.

Secondly, the ethics of teachers and schools has been examined by some within the context of professionalism. This chapter is not concerned with outlining the varying definitions of professionalism nor the arguments that proceed on the grounds of professionalisation first, and then from this the

ethics will follow (See Carr 2000). It is accepted here that the professions are moral projects and that the ethics of professionals should be fully internalised and widely practised, rather than be treated as 'bolt-on' check list. But I am less concerned with what it means to be a professional but rather how the term may be used by teachers as an expression of their normative beliefs and rationales about the ethics of teaching and schools.

Thirdly, one further area that will not be discussed is the processes involved in formulating and then implementing formalised standards or ethical codes. It is useful to extract the main features from codes as a way of illustrating what is considered to be the parameters of an ethical school or teacher. Indeed a survey of different codes across different educational systems and over time might prove useful in examining a discourse of values drift. But the how to write, the when to use, the ways of using, and the pros and cons of adopting codes I shall not examine here. My concern in this chapter is to identify what is understood to be the ethics of schools and teaching, and not to evaluate the methods that have been devised to standardise these ethics.

3.3 The Ethics of Teaching

Three recent examples of writers on the ethics of teaching are Carr (2000), Campbell (2003) and Strike and Soltis (2004). All three writers agree 'that teaching is inherently a moral and ethical activity' (Campbell 2003: 10) and that it is 'deeply and significantly implicated in ethical concerns and considerations' (Carr 2000: 3) and that 'most people probably would agree that teachers should behave in an ethical manner' (Strike and Soltis 2004: 4). Each of these writers also share similar objectives. First, they set out to

promote professionalism for instance and Campbell (2003: 4) argues that 'a renewed sense of professionalism' will result from increasing ethical knowledge. Second, they are concerned to raise the consciousness of teachers about what constitutes ethical matters. One way of developing this is through the use of case studies of ethical dilemmas and tensions: Carr and Campbell discuss brief vignettes, whereas Strike and Soltis provide a full and wide range of cases connected to key themes. Third, there is an attempt to develop a language and various schemes for dealing with the type of ethical dilemmas that teachers might encounter. However, they approach their subject matter in different ways and identify contrasting attributes of what it means to be an ethical teacher. The aim here is to provide an outline of what each author sees as the essential attributes of being an ethical teacher. The in built assumption is that these are attributes from which teachers should not drift. Thus this review aims to prepare the ground so as to be able to compare and contrast school ethics with business ethics in chapter four. What follows is not a comprehensive coverage of these three main authors but rather an engagement with some of the positions they have adopted about the ethics of teaching.

To take Carr first his approach is in the tradition of analytic philosophy of education and he draws on notions of virtue theory to discuss the moral behaviour of teachers. He focuses largely on concepts of professionalism and discusses this in relation to the aims of education as well as the objectivity of values. He sets out four normative dimensions that may be used in 'judging a teacher or a particular teaching style as good or bad, effective or ineffective' (Carr 2000: 151) in Chapter Nine. The first three of these involve moral and ethical issues namely: incompetence (which may be due to poor moral character), neglect (which encompasses abuse), setting a bad moral example (both in and outside of school) and indoctrination. It is not Carr's intention to

provide here a prescriptive list of what makes an ethical or moral teacher. Instead he sets out to connect what might be deemed 'professional rights and wrongs' with what are the rival conceptions of the aims of education, schooling and teaching. In doing so he makes a number of comments that are pertinent to this probe into the concept of values drift. First, he expresses alarm about attempts to technicise professional expertise. He considers this to be anti-democratic as it discourages an engagement in professional discussions. Further as teachers become, 'mere operatives of pedagogy (allegedly grounded in scientific research), they assume any wider evaluative reflection on the socio-cultural point and purpose of education and schooling to be someone else's (perhaps the politicians) business rather than their own' (ibid.: 37). One clear result of this is a lack of time and attention to the study of ethics.

This inward technicisation generates opportunities for outward control and such an externalisation, which is also a reduction of professional autonomy, can cause values drift. In short one's internal moral compass is being directed towards behaving in a more specifically defined and visible way. This is akin to Bernstein's (2000: 70) 'mechanism of introjection' whereby 'the identity finds its core in its place in an organisation of knowledge and practice' which are here being threatened by or replaced by 'mechanisms of projection', that is an 'identity is a reflection of external contingencies' (Bernstein 2000: 70). Second, Carr suggests managerialism is also anti-democratic as it entails a 'top-down approach to school management, in a field of public service which is notoriously line management ridden and has frequently been said to place far too much autocratic power in the hands of head teachers' (ibid.: 228). The importance of democracy is thus upheld as a value from which schools should not drift. His objection to the 'dangers of technicisation' and the 'hazards of managerialism' is that they intrude on teaching in 'which the

personal touch, human relationships and the cultivation of personal values are not just instrumental to achieving certain ends, but more or less constitutive of them' (ibid.: 229). Therefore, the ethics of teaching is rooted in moral communities; and to decide on what is right or wrong in the classroom or school requires a context-sensitive evaluation, something that managerialism does not provide. It is important to point out that Carr has a tendency to romanticise the 'previous' ethical paradigm and demonise the 'new' ethical paradigm and I recognise that I may be slipping into the same trap. The dangers of 'golden ageism' (Ball 2006b: 18) or 'post-1988ism' (Power 1992) which refers to the notion that the ethical regimes of schools were better before the Education Reform Act 1988 is acknowledged in this study. However, there is a temptation from time to time to slide in the same way as Carr or perhaps Bennett (2004) whose play the *History Boys* is imbued with a nostalgia for the better times in schools.

To turn to Campbell (2003) the emphasis of her book 'is on the practical expression of ethics and morality in teaching as opposed to the study or meta-ethics and questions about morality itself' (ibid.: 10) and an accent is placed on developing 'ethical knowledge' and an 'ethical culture'. Her approach like that of Carr is non-relativist with an interest in virtue theory. Like Carr she also discusses the teacher as both a moral person as well as a moral educator. In the case of the former she presents examples around four ethical principles that teachers should uphold namely: fairness, kindness, honesty, and respect. In the case of the latter rather than defend one or other type of moral education she develops instead a position that teachers should always be clear in their intentions when transmitting or clarifying values. There are two areas that she discusses which also provide an insight into the distinctive ethics of teaching by way of contrast with business. These are 'collegial fear', where

she examines teacher loyalty to the group as a whole, and then the need to 'foster ethical professionalism through teacher education', where she offers her guidance list to pre-service students. With the first aspect Campbell is critical of some teacher solidarity, especially unions, as it can blur notions of what is right, can silence issues that should be discussed and can also pressurise individuals to conform to an uncomfortable position. For example she explains: 'Dependence on suspended morality and false necessity as strategies for avoiding personal confrontation and keeping the collective peace among members of a teaching staff cheapens ethical knowledge and weakens the spirit of professionalism so critical to the articulation of moral agency in teaching' (ibid.: 93). Thus the ethic of collegiality, which she acknowledges is of particular significance in teaching, is presented as a weakening influence in the development of autonomous moral agents. This theme is continued in the second aspect where Campbell sees teacher training as playing a role in combating the grip that 'the prevailing norms of collegial loyalty and non-interference have' (ibid.: 123) on promoting ethical knowledge. One way of doing so is to incorporate ethical analysis, reflection, and discussion in pre-service training through the use of case studies and ethical problem solving frameworks. Campbell is not suggesting that the ethics of teaching can be programmed into new entrants of the profession. Indeed, her own copious reflections on the many and varied ethical scenarios she presents, demonstrates her commitment to the individual teacher developing and applying their 'ethical knowledge' with a degree of 'moral strength' in relation to the ethical issues they encounter.

However worthy of comment is that Campbell is looking at the threat as arriving from within rather than from without the profession and I would like to question the accent that she places on a 'return to the individual professional' (ibid.: 128). What follows are three cautions I would like to raise

designed to draw attention to the wider problems of interpreting the ethics of teaching. Campbell uses the word 'return' to convey some of her consternation that the ethics of teaching has become too collegial. Thus she writes in her chapter five, of 'Collegial fear: the dilemma within', and she discusses 'when the collegial isn't ethical' (ibid.: 85). As well as the issues mentioned above centring on the 'tyranny of the group' her main difficulty is that individual teachers adopt a culture of acceptance where colleagues are never challenged about ethical matters. But Campbell's analysis adheres to a strong 'personalism', an approach for which I express caution. A term used by Bhaskar(1993: 256), he explains: 'Personalism, perhaps the dominant moral ideology for subjects, is characterised by the attribution of moral responsibility to the isolated individual in an abstract, desocialised, deprocessualised, unmediated way, with blame, reinforced by punishment (rather than the failure to satisfy needs), as the sanction for default'. In this approach moral responsibility is isolated entirely at the level of the individual and Campbell makes a point of not providing any context for the ethical scenarios she recounts of individual teachers and students. At different points she justifies this deliberate line in three ways. First, she draws attention to the fact that one might hear commentaries from time to time about how a particular teacher made such a difference to one's life. Because people attribute such praise to an individual teacher she argues therefore, that it is the individual who should be the centre of focus. Unfortunately this is a rather fallacious argument and fails to address the structures that can enable or constrain the 'life changing' influence that a teacher may provide.

Second, she eschews the need to provide any context, either social or political, for the series of incidents and situations that she discusses. As she asserts:

However, from my perspective, no level of contextual understanding could justify these behaviours as being inherently moral. Context can not make a disrespectful

action suddenly respectful. Context can not transform rude and inconsistent treatment of students into satisfactory behaviour just because, as the teacher says, one day students learn to read her moods (ibid.: 43).

This removal of all context is especially troubling at points where she claims to be demonstrating evidence of a lack of ethical knowledge. In adopting such a procedure she does not intend to slide towards absolutism but this does tend to close down moral thoughtfulness rather than open it up. Unfortunately little room is given to the position, that moral truths are bound to be relative in some sense or other, even if they are not relative in all senses. This is not to advocate relativism but it is to accept that some things may be absolutely good for a teacher to pursue but the goodness of those things is still relative to that teacher in that situation.

A third position that Campbell takes which reinforces her personalism is to suggest that individuals are not confined by context and can either overcome adverse conditions or manipulate them. She asks therefore

whether ethical teachers could exist in unethical schools and, conversely, whether teachers could conduct themselves in unethical ways within school contexts that promote ethical accountability. Admittedly, it is easier for individuals to conduct themselves in ways compatible with the contexts in which they live and work. However, I believe there is ample experiential evidence to support the above possibilities- the extra-ordinary teacher striving to achieve morally exceptional goals in bleak and unsupportive educational environments; and the corrupt teacher secretly using for personal advantage the authority position of the role despite having the security of a morally sound school life (ibid.: 129).

The question raised in the above quote is 'can one be ethical in an unethical school?' and this is of central importance to this study. The policy context and its impact is of prime concern and 'values drift' indicates a shifting context

that can, to rephrase Campbell above, 'make a respectful action suddenly disrespectful.' For example, the respect for the intrinsic worth of a student can be diminished if their contribution to overall SATs or GCSE league table results is considered poor. It is this context of league table results and other such 'managerialist' techniques and their impact on the ethics of the individual teacher that is of concern. For the individual teacher it may be very difficult to maintain a particular ethical position such as 'equal respect' for the child, when policies, such as league tables can mitigate against this position. To place the onus of ethical responsibility entirely on teachers, irrespective of the context of policy, involves a 'personalism' that this study rejects. This preponderance of personalism results in little or no attention being given to the context of policy and in particular managerialism and again this is something refuted in this study.

To pursue this further, Kay (2003) has suggested that personalism is a beneficial approach 'as it removes the centre of gravity of teaching away from the bureaucratic bastions of power to the teacher in his or her interaction with pupils'. But it is precisely this interaction that has become infiltrated by processes of power that make it a 'real struggle to be ethical'. For example the managerialist emphasis on utilitarian target setting is a 'means' to achieve league table 'ends'. Following MacIntyre, this is an example of an anti-Kantian manipulative ethic, something of which many teachers have expressed their disquiet. Furthermore, how ethical is the naming and shaming of both schools and teachers, which then infects relationships in the classroom? Granted Campbell (2003: 139) does touch upon some of the difficulties encountered by teachers in relation to school administrators and by way of conclusion acknowledges, 'ethical knowledge is shown to be challenged and subverted by moral dilemmas, uncertainties, tensions, and complexities that unfold in schools as a result of organisational practices, interpersonal relations, and individual proclivities'.

However, this lack of explicit treatment of how wider policy issues challenge and subvert ethical knowledge is a shortcoming to be found in most of the ethics of teaching literature. This study attempts to address this by 'updating' the ethical scenarios and case studies that are used, with examples deriving from managerialist pressures. This is done in the empirical part of the study where a series of eight vignettes have been constructed around issues that arise from managing schools along a business model. One area of 'Canadian context' that Campbell does address is that of trade unions but only to dismiss them as the 'single most significant hindrance to ethical professionalism in teaching' (ibid.: 95). As she argues adherence to the 'mores of the group' prevents moral autonomy and can stifle action that may be ethically preferable. But if some consideration were given to education policy it is the replacement of a collegial with a competitive ethic, that has begun to alter the ethics of teacher to teacher and teacher to pupil relations as mentioned in the last chapter. In some cases union support has been seen as necessary for teachers in their endeavours to protect and sustain an ethical environment in the midst of the dismantling of the 'post-welfarist education policy complex' to adopt Gerwitz's phrase. Campbell's ethics of teaching depends on a highly individualised moral autonomy and any necessary regulation should be conducted through professional bodies and codes but not by unions.

The third note of caution I want to draw from Campbell is her discussion of standards and codes. In Chapter Six she considers ways in which codes can foster ethical knowledge but unfortunately offers little detail on their limitations. She recognises that in themselves they cannot capture the essence of the moral dimensions of teaching and at best can only be 'tools of professional improvement'. This is important as any attempt to glean a full

account of the ethics of teaching from a code of standards will be limited. For example, in the standards or competencies for Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) (See Appendix 5 Table 5.1) there is an opening section on professional values and the nearest mention of ethics states of teachers that '1.3 They demonstrate and promote the positive values, attitudes and behaviour that they expect from their pupils' (General Teaching Council 2002). Some extrapolation is needed of the ethical content for all of the statements using concepts for example from Carr, and Campbell and some further concepts to be discussed from Strike and Soltis (see Appendix 5 Table 5.1). This would mean item 1.3 refers to the ethical concepts of 'teachers maintaining integrity' as well as maintaining fairness, kindness, honesty, and respect'.

Campbell does not provide examples of standards or codes but Strike and Soltis do when referring to the US National Education Association 1975 Code of Ethics of the Education Profession. They adopt this as a framework for a discussion of the ethics of teaching by examining case studies through consequentialist and non-consequentialist terms. But as with Campbell they do not consider that codes can be potentially morally debilitating. As codes are clearly not 'value neutral', they can be seen as an attempt to recruit people into compliant patterns of behaviour in order to achieve organisational goals. Therefore, codes tend to instrumentalise ethics and colonise or displace the normative ethics of employees, which in this case are teachers, with a descriptive ethics that paradoxically might well hinder the fostering of autonomous individuals that certainly Campbell favours. As Bauman (1993:14) points out, the idea of an autonomous self capable of making choices may be affirmed by codes but then is 'constantly trimmed' by the same codes. So to conclude this third note of caution concerning the approaches taken in the ethics of teaching literature, the use of codes are not only problematic but

they can also serve to reinforce personalism and may remove any focus on the context of policy such as 'managerialism'.

To turn now to third example of writers on the ethics of teaching and outline the five ethical concepts that Strike and Soltis explore in their separate chapters. These are: (i) punishment and due process – judging the right punishment of students by its desired consequences or restoring the balance of rights; (ii) intellectual freedom – maintaining intellectual openness on the principle of benefit maximisation or the principle of respect for persons and individual freedom; (iii) equal treatment of students – the issue of justice in distributing educational resources; (iv) dealing with diversity: multiculturalism and religion – which involves considering notions of the truth from varying perspectives. Then evaluating diversity by respecting persons as moral agents (non-consequentialist view) or accepting a variety of ways of life styles that promotes the greatest good for the greatest number (consequentialist view); (v) democracy, professionalism, and teaching with integrity- where moral choice is discussed as requiring 'moral sensitivity, rationality, and the development of moral theory for which the primary evidence is our moral intuitions' (ibid.: 97) where 'legitimate decisions are achieved by a legitimate process' (ibid.: 102).

In the fifth and last area Strike and Soltis discuss issues that will be directly encountered in the empirical part of this study and these are worth signposting at this juncture. Principally they tackle the problem of sovereignty and authority and ask 'In schools when people disagree, who is entitled to make the decision?' (ibid.: 96). This has a bearing on 'values drift'. If comprehensive values are reshaped, transformed or replaced by those of the market which are considered objectionable, then what is the best thing to do?

To pursue this question raised by Strike and Soltis, I would like to relate it to one of the vignettes (see Appendix 1 vignette 2 (v2)), used in my interviews which in doing so will demonstrate how ethical issues related to managerialism can be analysed. This involves applying the philosophical concepts that Strike and Soltis utilise in their case study to one of the vignettes in the empirical part of this study. In contrast to Carr and Campbell the case studies that Strike and Soltis provide are lengthier and the issues raised are probed in greater detail. In chapter six they explore the case of a teacher refusing to teach a new maths project on the grounds that her experience tells her it will be detrimental to her 'students' learning. This issue raises questions of who has the sovereignty and authority to decide on such matters and what does a teacher do to maintain their integrity when a dilemma or dispute arises?

As I have argued, in common with the literature on ethics and teaching, Strike and Soltis do not tackle the ethics of managerialism. However, here is a case where there is a challenge to a policy by an individual teacher and I shall translate their approach into a case where staff decide on a vote of no confidence in their management during an impending Ofsted inspection (v2). As Strike and Soltis ask what confers sovereignty, that is the authority or right to decide, in this case whether the management are fit to manage as determined by the managed? One view locates sovereignty in the majority. Here decisions on action are made legitimate by a majority vote. Another view is that one knows best through experience and expertise. Here legitimacy to act is conferred by reason of expertise or professionalism. The knowledge base, standards of competence and initiation into an ethic of professional responsibility all serve it is suggested, to provide the authority that the managed might challenge the authority of the management.

However, as Strike and Soltis point out 'legally, teaching is not structured as a profession' (ibid.: 104) and as a result sovereignty is not located in teachers or their organisations but in state legislatures and governing bodies. Therefore, the authority to decide on the rights or wrongs of management would rest with the governing body. Recourse to such a body would also involve an appeal to authority of a different kind namely that of representative democracy. As elected representatives the sovereignty of governors resides in the fact that a proportion of their number will come from outside the immediate school community. In contrast a vote of no confidence by the managed is an appeal to communitarian democracy. Here what is considered legitimate, derives from 'uncoerced discussion and consensus among community members' (ibid.: 105). Dissatisfaction with management could arise on the grounds that communitarian democracy has been subverted arising from the internal suppression of discussion, deliberation, and consensus or from allowing negative external interference.

Would a teacher feel comfortable with being involved in a vote of no confidence in management before an Ofsted inspection? Strike and Soltis summarise the different views of whether it would be legitimate to do so as: 'Professionalism emphasises expertise and competence, communitarian democracy emphasises participation and discussion, and representative democracy emphasises equal representation of the citizenry. All of these values seem commendable. At the same time, it seems difficult to serve them simultaneously' (ibid.: 107). They go on to conclude that as teachers are not legally professionals they will have to respect the decisions of government policy but could still find the means to contest bad decisions.

If confronted with bad policy how do teachers express an objection but also keep their integrity? In the case of the Ofsted vote of no confidence there are four responses suggested by Strike and Soltis that could be followed: accommodation, re-negotiation, re-interpretation and resignation. First, management may be accommodated by accepting it is alright to give in about a matter of conscience and respect the majority view. Second, efforts could be tried to re-negotiate with management about areas of disagreement. Certainly this might be favoured immediately prior to an Ofsted. Third, re-interpret the policy by working imaginatively around its requirements. This would involve a collective approach to forestall a crisis in connection with an Ofsted inspection. Fourth, if there is no alternative it may be necessary to resign. This is a difficult move on a collective or an individual basis and is the 'preferred option only when we are asked to do something that violates a core and moral consideration in a fundamental way or when we are asked to do something that, in our best judgement, will do serious and lasting harm' (ibid.: 110). Underpinning these four responses and much of the underlying philosophy of the chapter are the values of community and values of rationality which they develop from the work of Habermas (1990) and Dewey (1957). The latter in particular emphasises the importance of community in democracy and education and the cohesive role that dialogue can play. As Strike and Soltis explain with a decidedly different accent to that of Campbell:

Dialogue often strengthens community. It can reinforce a sense of common enterprise and thereby create a sense of membership. Through dialogue *the* school can be transformed into *my* school, *its* goals into *my* goals, *its* activities into *my* activities. When decisions are achieved through dialogue, individuals who participate are more likely to own decisions and to care conscientiously for their implementation. Even when dialogue fails to achieve agreement, it may foster respect and understanding. People may be able to see the issue from the perspective of the other person and to tolerate differences when consensus is beyond reach. All of these features seem

important to an organisation if it is to accomplish its tasks in a purposeful and conscientious manner. They are also important features of an organisation in which work is rewarding and personal relations are satisfying (ibid.: 111).

These observations are relevant for all organisations and it is not claimed that dialogue is a more important ethic in schools than a business. However, two points can be made in relation to values drift. First, the drift from comprehensive to market values can be encapsulated as a drift from a community with a dialogic orientation to a competitive orientation. Comprehensive values, implies a greater degree of involvement in shared social principles and insights. As a result the process of reaching a moral 'reflective equilibrium' is a social one. Whereas, under market values to reach a 'reflective equilibrium', is highly individualised (See Rawls 1971). This Rawlsian term of 'reflective equilibrium' is explained by Strike and Soltis as 'reaching a point in our deliberations where we feel that our moral intuitions and the moral theory that accounts for them are satisfactorily consistent and where the decisions we reach and actions we take can be justified by our moral theory' (ibid.: 98). This is a useful way of conceptualising how teachers evaluate their beliefs about the ethics of teaching and education policy. The point to underline is that values drift can be interpreted as altering not only one's 'reflective equilibrium' but also the processes involved towards achieving 'reflective equilibrium' if it becomes a more individualistic than a social process. A second point is that a mechanism generating values drift is the solitary nature of teaching which will become accentuated under a market values orientation. As Strike and Soltis argue, 'The character of schools in our society typically makes the ethical reflection that teachers engage in a solitary affair. Teachers work in self-contained classrooms. There are few forums in schools where it is natural to discuss ethical issues. Moreover, many schools are hierarchically structured in ways that interfere with any real dialogic

process. As a consequence, teachers are unlikely to have much opportunity to engage in open and undominated ethical dialogue. If we are right about this, it is a significant shortcoming of our school system' (ibid.: 113). Therefore, the structure of schools, provide little to counteract values drift. Paradoxically, for Campbell a solitary situation may facilitate the development of individual moral autonomy.

In summary there are two main strands that run throughout most of this literature on the ethics of teaching are: the teacher as a moral person and the teacher as a moral educator. In both cases the person who occupies the role of a teacher is considered as the most important factor in the practice of teaching and learning. Therefore, the 'moral sensibility' (Hansen 2001:32) of this person is closely examined, often through the lens of virtue theory in which dispositions such as honesty, courage, care, fairness, practical wisdom are propounded (Sokkett 1992:Ch 4). These are then considered alongside how they might be acquired and ongoingly nurtured and reproduced for example, through notions of professionalism, training through the use of ethical case studies or the setting of standards through codes. But identified with much of this attention to the individual is a 'personalism' that fails to attend to matters of context. Markedly absent from the literature is an examination of the influences that policy and in particular that of managerialism may have on the ethics of teaching. As a teacher is it possible to conduct yourself ethically in an unethical school? This is a question to which I turn in the next section.

3.4 *The Ethical School*

In this section I outline some of the essential attributes of ethical schools as discussed by two recent authors. The rationale is to present 'ideal types' with a view to highlighting the possible shortfalls that arise when there is an emphasis on managing schools as if they were a business. In short X, Y, and Z may be the guiding principles of an ethical school but P, Q, and W may be the contradictory principles required in the managing of the school as a business. This section continues to map the ethics of schools that will be contrasted in the next chapter with the ethics of business in terms of possible incommensurabilities and contradictions. This section also provides further substance to the concept of values drift.

How should we think about moral behaviour in schools? Strike and Ternasky distinguish three perspectives the Aristotelian, liberal democratic and feminist (Strike and Ternasky 1993). Following a summary of each perspective by a reputable theorist in the field, they then provide an interpretation of an ethical dilemma that is recounted in the form of a school based vignette, from within the standpoint of their own ethical system. Thus the Aristotelian highlights certain personal qualities, the liberal democrat looks at specific consequences and the feminist examines 'the whole web of caring' (Bricker, et al. 1993). Then in a commentary about the exercise they note the theoretical differences but also observe considerable agreement 'at the level of intuition' (ibid.: 64) about how the ethical dilemmas in the vignettes could be resolved. The suggestion is that intuitively one knows what should happen in schools. They then itemise the way each theorist anticipates their antagonists' refutations and attempts to stem possible criticism. This exercise is instructive

in demonstrating how one story of an ethical dilemma can be interpreted three ways. It also draws attention to the need to be explicit about the respective ethical theory one is applying when making ethical judgements in education. There is no suggestion that these ethical systems are incommensurable but instead that dialogue between the different perspectives is more instructive than a hindrance. But characteristically there is an underpinning notion of 'rational' application and 'rational' dialogue in this abstract analytic tradition. A problem that results is it renders the 'lay ethics' of the teachers depicted in the story as imperfect. As Sayer (2004a) explains, the application of purely normative, abstract reason, can cause a 'disembedding' from the social setting of the school. Philosophers approach an issue this way for good reasons, but Sayer suggests this might be a very different way to how people think or act in such a social setting. As Sayer (2004: 95) proclaims 'Rawlsian theory offers an imaginative and original normative approach to certain ethical issues, but it does not pretend that people think in this way'. Another comment I would like to raise on this three-way interpretation of the school story is the assertion that the different ethical systems can easily be separated. As Bhaskar (1994: 159) has commented, the sense of opposition can be overplayed:

First, consequentialism, which prioritises the goodness of outcomes, deontology, stressing the rightness of acts, and virtue theory, of the sort recently championed by Alasdair MacIntyre, emphasising the virtues of agents, are often seen as at loggerheads [...]. Virtuous agents perform right acts with beneficial consequences, including the reinforcement of the virtues of the agent. Conversely, performing right acts encourages the disposition to do so –or at least this can be plausibly maintained.

However this 'beneficent ethical circle', whilst instructive in assessing a school ethical problem, it does not however provided a prescription of how an ethical school should be designed.

In an attempt to both synthesise as well as transcend the conventional deontological and consequentialist distinctions in ethics, Haynes (1998) provides her own framework for making ethical choices in schools. This is derived from Wren's six conceptions of morality

- i. Teleological – morality concerned with an overriding objective
- ii. Juridical – morality as systematic laws
- iii. Self-actualising-moral life in terms of the self and its qualities
- iv. Proceduralist – structural aspects in moral deliberations
- v. Intuitionist – directly perceivable principles
- vi. Romantic – morality as rebelling against enslaving institutions (Haynes 1998:8)

From this list she recognises several dualisms that do not exist independently of each other but rather are interdependent. Thus there are the private and public dimensions of morality along with intra-moral and extra-moral, and the deontic and ethos of one's own culture. She then 'sets out a 'triadic taxonomy of ethics' that is 'consistent with postmodernism within which administrators can develop their own reasonable structure' (Haynes 1998:3). It demands that the following considerations be made of ethical action:

- i. Consistency: a 'subjective' aspect in which one internalises practice to see it as intentional. Here ethical action is deliberate, chosen, shaped and made justifiable by the personal coherence of internalised rules, meaning and values.
- ii. Consequences: the 'objective' aspect of ethics which sees practice as externalised individual or social behaviour, in terms of its causes and consequences.
- iii. Care in which the carer attends to the cared-for in a special mode of non-selective attention or engrossment which extends outward across a broad web of relations. It is

holistic and responsive making reciprocal connections in order to help others in a special act of receptivity. (Haynes 1998: 11-12)

Guided by this taxonomy she asserts that educational administrators will be ethical to the extent that they consider the short and long-term consequences of their actions; are consistent with their own past actions and beliefs; and care for others as human beings. By developing one's moral sensitivity this becomes a necessary part of becoming moral and this is expected by teachers and administrators. It is notable that care is highlighted in this model and we might ask to what extent is this an ethic of business? I would want to agree that maintaining the right 'consistency' and the right 'consequences' is sufficiently action guiding for business and schools but the right 'care' is questionable for business but essential for schools. Comprehensive values are grounded in a fourth criteria of 'community' and as such are likely to guarantee 'consistency' 'consequences' and 'care'. However, market values are unlikely to provide 'consistency', produce the right 'consequences' or demonstrate the right 'care'. Indeed it is Friedman's (1993) contention that business does not have a duty of social responsibility to the community but rather its duty first and foremost is towards its shareholders.

Throughout the book Haynes considers a wide range of issues from bullying and harassment, to the ethics of punishment, dress code and censorship through the use of vignettes and examples from applied philosophical literature. In an appendix she provides fifty questions around the theme of 'what should one do faced with these dilemmas?' None of these specifically address issues that arise from the realities of managerialism. In a second appendix she presents the 1987 Australian College of Education code of ethics which describes the teacher in relation to students, society and profession. In

the latter case this refers to the need for collaboration and cooperation which touches on issues that might arise from managerialism.

Robert Starratt (1994) also provides a tripartite ethical framework. This involves an ethic of critique, justice, and care. Drawing on the Frankfurt school and critical theory, the ethic of critique calls for school communities to embrace a sense of social responsibility and question why particular arrangements may exist in schools. The ethic of justice refers to matters of governance. Drawing on Kohlberg he argues that it is only by being grounded in a community that just actions can be practiced. The argument for an ethic of care draws on the work of Gilligan and Noddings and focuses on the absolute value of 'human persons-in-relationships.' Again 'care' features here as a prominent ethic for schools.

The rationale of Starratt's work is to respond to the 'moral crisis in schools' and offer practical advice on how to build an ethical school. In his analysis of the crisis he cites six factors that tilt schools towards values that militate against an ethical education namely 'toward individualism, toward competition, toward a superficial form of rationality, toward privatism and individual achievement, and toward conformity to authority' (ibid.: 17). Three of these factors clearly stem from a 'market' model of education. For example the emphasis on excessive individualism denigrates the benefits of collective activity. Secondly, a competitive ethic accentuates getting ahead 'without necessarily finding anything intrinsically rewarding about academic work' (ibid.: 20). Thirdly, superficial forms of rationality package knowledge in order to satisfy some external criteria of 'achievement' which is invariably defined by a government agency or business.

Whilst Bottery (1990) presents the same urgency that schools should be moral, in contrast he does not provide a blueprint for an ethical school but rather a series of commentaries centred largely around using moral education to develop an ethical climate within schools. He is however concerned with the appropriateness and impact of the business model in education and has consistently written about this topic over fifteen years and in seven main texts. In this his first book, much of his concerns relate to fostering an ethical climate with and amongst pupils. For example in Chapter Nine he provides a systematic coverage of the arguments for and against competition in education and then sets out activities to promote co-operation.

However Chapter Thirteen is the most pertinent chapter to this review as it provides a critique of the hierarchical model of education management. He starts with a sceptical review of the Everard and Morris (1985) text *Effective School Management* and exposes their lack of commitment to ethical issue. In addition, with support from Handy's (1976) *Understanding Organisations*, he hints that management perspectives embrace an anti-Kantian manipulative ethic that seems to go ignored. This is perpetuated he argues by a misuse of terminology where 'management style' really means 'changing behaviour to get what you want' and 'school management' means 'the head getting his or her way.' Furthermore this is compounded by a narrow and restricted understanding of what education means, (an input-output machine), and what the concept is of a teacher (any other resource) and a pupil (an input). As a consequence any collegial form of organisation in the school is supplanted by the 'effective industrial' model of line management and hierarchy which serves to verify the Bowles and Gintis (1976) correspondence thesis. He then goes on to appeal that: 'Educational management must concern itself with ends – educational ends, teachers and pupils. Perhaps it is time for education to begin exporting some of these ideas into industrial theory. Educational institutions – and

society in general –would be much more humane places’ (Bottery 1990: 135). This and Bottery’s other works will be discussed in the next chapter when the subject will be raised of the commensurability of school and business ethics.

This section has concentrated on the attributes of an ethical school, and has suggested that absent from two main accounts is any recognition that schools are now expected to be managed like a business. As a result this raises the question of contrasting ethical schools with ethical business. This template or typology of what an ethical school looks like will be important to keep in mind when two business ethics typologies are deployed in §6.2 and §6.3 to respectively map out the ethical beliefs of teachers and the salient features of the moral ethos of schools. In the next section §3.5 attention is given to the literature on ethical administration which concentrates on the process of ethical management and leadership rather than the end product of an ethical school.

3.5 The Ethics of Education Administration

Values and ethics in schools have formed a large concern for writers on education administration. Their prime emphasis has been on the values and ethics that administrators or principals of schools should have and much of the field has been concerned with concepts of leadership. As the present study concentrates on the values and ethical beliefs of the managed rather than management, it is not intended here, to engage with debates over the most appropriate styles of leadership or the traits that are necessary for good or ethical leaders. Most of this literature concentrates on individuals and interprets values and ethics as being localised in the actions of school leaders

as administrators. It is not concerned, as this study is, to identify patterns of ethical beliefs and values in the social groups of those who are managed.

Instead, I want to extract insights from this field of study about how essentially schools are an ethical enterprise and values-laden. I also want to examine further the meaning of values drift and will use some of the educational administration theory to explore dimensions of this phenomenon. Within the field of educational administration values are localised with principals or head teachers and 'values drift' might be interpreted as a head teacher adapting their own values or resolving values conflict in a particular way. The accent is placed on the values or ethics that leaders possess or bring to the organisation as individuals, rather than the values within which leaders are immersed. This is not to suggest that there is no focus on the organisational context of values but instead the emphasis is on the individual's motivation, namely the manager, to hold values rather than the values that might exist in a school as an organisation at large amongst the managed. It is this latter case which this study sets out to investigate. Hodgkinson is also noted for a second 'analytical model of the value concept' and there are other models such as those developed by Friedman (2003). But I shall only acknowledge the one contribution of Hodgkinson (1991) and then align the framework of 'values drift' with this model. This and the other models are not without limitations and in particular in CR terms they fail to give sufficient attention to the relationship between the individual and society. In much of the field of educational administration and most certainly in Hodgkinson's work, values are viewed as a function of people with insufficient attention to their relation with values in, and of, society. To amend Hodgkinsons' model I shall refer to Bhaskar's Transformational Model of Social Action (TMSA) and Archer's morphogenetic approach and demonstrate how a synthesis of these models could be used for critical policy

analysis. To this end, I shall refer to Gewirtz (2002) and her account of the managerial school and suggest that further areas need exploring in order to give a full account of the 'mismatch of values' (values drift) that she identifies. This section therefore, aims to both outline critique and employ the values theory of educational administration, and offer this as a starting point in the development of a CR analysis of policy.

Richmon (2004:343) places Hodgkinson alongside Greenfield as 'senior patriarch's of the 'ed admin' family'. He describes both as having led the attack on the positivist oriented orthodoxy of the Theory Movement in educational administration. This presented 'a view of organisations as functionalistic and the people within them as mechanistic and determinable' (ibid.: 343). Value claims were seen as having no place in the science of administration which was perceived as an entirely value –neutral activity. Taking the lead from Greenfield, Hodgkinson's contribution was to wrench administration from a conception of the 'technical and rational' to one as 'artful and moral' (ibid.: 343) and educational leaders were theorised as being 'caught up in a field of values in which he is forced to choose and act' (Hodgkinson 1991: 43). This 'field of action' is depicted by Hodgkinson as an onion like figure made up of five concentric circles, each layer representing a source of values and this appears in Appendix 6.

The centre ring is the individual self (V₁). The second ring outwards from the centre of the figure is that of the group (V₂). This is the informal arena of teachers and their colleagues. The third ring is the organisation or school (V₃) and the traditional area of focus for educational administration. The fourth ring is the 'subculture of the community in which the school is embedded (V₄). Finally, the outer ring represents the greater community or society and 'the given social culture in space and time which is a function of geography

and history and is expressed in those values represented by the German concept of the spirit of the times – zeitgeist (V₅)' (Hodgkinson 1991: 44). Moving outwards emphasises the situatedness of the individual in the field of action, whereas moving inwards emphasises how the values of individuals are shaped and acquired. What relevance does this model have for the present study?

If we move from focusing on the 'individualised leader' to that of examining the social relations of individual teachers then this model can be used in two ways. First, it provides a schema to explore values drift. Second, it can be used as a template for comparing and contrasting the values and ethics of schools and businesses. But I want to point out through a CR lens how this should be approached. If this schema is used first in a structuralist fashion then it can act as a reference map for the policy sociology literature: Where do we discern values drift most, within or across layers? Do we give sufficient or equal attention to all of the layers and what sustains the values within the layers? Gerwirtz's (2002) study comments on the change and conflict in values at the level of the group (V₂), (e.g., Ch. 4: Stress in the staffroom), the organisation (V₃), (e.g., Ch. 3: Ethics and ethos: conflicting values in the managerial school), and the community (V₄) and culture (V₅) (e.g., Ch. 6: The post-welfarist settlement in education). But, at the level of individual values (V₁), this is not systematically explored. It is evident from Gewirtz's data that values and ethical conflicts have emerged for teachers but this is not examined in detail. But following Archer (1995) what CR provides is sharp focus on the interplay and interconnection of structure and agency and is at pains not to conflate the two ontologically separate properties. This study sets out to examine the structure of agents' ethical beliefs, and how these beliefs that may be enabled and constrained by the changing values in schools. This is to instigate a greater focus on the agency of teachers and examine their

interplay with the structures that are often presented as pressing on them. In order to assess the causality behind values drift and or mismatch we need to steer through the structure/agency debate and the two camps in sociological theory of 'Weberian voluntarism' and 'Durkheimian reification.' The former sees 'social objects as the results of, or constituted by, intentional or meaningful behaviour' (Bhaskar 1994: 91) and the latter 'social objects are viewed as possessing a life of their own, external to and coercing the individual' (ibid.: 91). Taking values as social objects, the values model attempts to overcome the Weberian shortcomings of 'actions but no conditions' and the Durkheimian 'conditions but not actions', by proposing a dialectic where the individual is both shaped by a complex of values (moving inwards V_5 to V_1) and is also shaping values (moving outwards V_1 to V_5) in the field of action. Bhaskar (1998:36) offers his Transformation Modal of Social Activity (TMSA) as a solution to the conflict between voluntarism and reification. In this model the actions of individuals and the wider structures of society are simultaneously irreducible to one another but must be seen as dependent on one another for their action and perpetuation. As Bhaskar explains:

The model of the society/person connection I am proposing could be summarised as follows: people do not create society. For its always pre-exists them and is a necessary condition for their activity. Rather, society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. Society does not exist independently of human activity (the error of reification). But it is not the product of it (the error of voluntarism). Now the processes whereby the stocks of skills, competences and habits appropriate to given social contexts, and necessary for the reproduction and/or transformation of society, are acquired and maintained could be generically referred to as *socialisation*. It is important to stress that the reproduction and/or transformation of society, though for most part unconsciously achieved, is nevertheless still an *achievement*, a skilled accomplishment of active subjects, not a mechanical consequent of antecedent conditions (Bhaskar 1998: 36)

Just how active are the subjects in Gewirtz's study is a question that she does not address. Neither is there attention to the ways a 'values mismatch or drift' might enable or constrain the human agency which reproduces or transforms social structures? It is implied that comprehensive values are enabling of ethical structures in schooling whilst market values are constraining. Some of these issues have been approached by Willmott (2002) in his case study analysis of how teachers mediate the contradiction between child-centred philosophy and practice and the running of schools as businesses or new managerialism. In particular he examined how a 'constraining contradiction' (some degree of incongruence in the cultural system (CS) discourse of management), exerts a conditional influence upon agency (the Socio-Cultural or S-C level). For example he explains how managerialist methods, and in particular those derived from commentaries on school effectiveness, have little or no underpinning social ontology. Instead they advocate targeting, testing and the construction of league tables along methodological individualist lines, devoid of considerations of social contingency. A prime example of one constraining contradiction, explains Willmott is how 'managerialism erases its human subjects yet requires them so they can be managed' (ibid.: 189). To analyse the interplay of structure and culture on the agency of teachers, Willmott employs Archer's morphogenetic analysis (1995). This is an elaboration of Bhaskar's TMSA which, Willmott explains, (see glossary Appendix 19 and Figure 5.3 p161),

proceeds sequentially, first by examining the relational properties of the systemic items of interest; second, by explaining the consequences for people of holding specific theories or beliefs; and third, by delineating any cultural morphogenesis (which may parallel structural morphogenesis). Thus, like structure, culture has emergent relational properties (of logical contradiction or complementarity) that *act back* to condition their makers. But they only do so when invoked by actors (ibid.: 56).

Elucidating this comment and connecting it with Gewirtz and policy sociology, the 'relational properties' refers to the internal relations between roles in the education system which are 'ontologically distinct from the individual people who fill them and whom they causally affect' (ibid.: 12). From a review of the internal and necessary social relations of for example a teacher to a pupil, or of a school to the department of education and so on, an identification can be made of emergent powers which are irreducible to the roles of the individuals that occupy them. Second an explanation is sought of how specific beliefs, ideas and values causally condition agents and their relationship with respect to structure. Managerialist beliefs such as McGregor's (1960) Theory X and Y or the measurability of performance will condition their practice and impact on the managed. But Willmott(2000: 76) points out it is wrong to conflate the objective independent properties of managerialist culture (the Culture System (CS) level, where culture does not exist in people but in management texts that may or may not be used) with the subjective reception and genesis of this culture (the Socio-Cultural (S-C) level where agents draw upon and interact with managerialist culture). Thus, he alerts us to the twofold importance of not conceiving culture as a homogenous whole and not always bearing the hallmark of consistency. This caution also needs to be applied with Hodgkinson's values model especially at the organisational culture (V₃) level. Therefore, the third focus is on what people do with the culture they inherit and 'how they can or cannot change it because of the conjunction between the structural realm, the irreducible powers of the CS and people's powers of reflection' (ibid.: 54). This is effectively summarised by Archer (1998: viii) as the interplay between the 'parts and the people'. Thus the contention here is that whilst reference is made by Gewirtz to the 'parts' and data is presented from the 'people' the interplay between them is not adequately theorised or explained sufficiently.

To turn now to a second use of this values model that of a comparative framework for analysing the ethics and values of schools and business. The model was devised as a way of examining theoretically as well as providing practical advice on the 'moral art of leadership' in schools, but there are no features that necessarily single this out as only applicable to schools. But Hodgkinson (1991: 15) was quite emphatic about the special status of education, arguing that it was 'far more complex than commerce or industry or bureaucracy. It is not merely complex but profound. In short, education is something very special in the field of human affairs.' Then later he argues:

Education has been shown to be a general set of human behaviours and experiences organised about three categories of purpose: aesthetic, economic, and ideological. It can be said to subserve all human values and the prerequisite to their fulfilment. It is this all-inclusive quality which makes education so special and, at the same time human. Because of this relevance to all aspects of the human condition, education is also invested with a moral character (ibid.: 27).

Therefore, what this 'values onion' offers is the unusual opportunity to view business through a model constructed in education. This is in contrast to observations made by Bottery (1992) a major commentator on the ethics of schools, who bemoans the frequent use of business models to both evaluate and influence management in schools. As Bottery (1992: 130) explains, 'management theory came to education from business mainly because education had systematised so little of the subject itself [...]. Insights from business may be extremely suggestive, but need to be couched in the terms peculiar to education. The theory must be transformed before it can be accepted and it must be implemented by those who know the particular institutions'. Interestingly, Bottery, whose work will be examined in more detail in Chapter Four, ignores the work of Hodgkinson and the educational

administration literature. The benefits of applying this model for comparative purposes is that it starts the process of questioning to what extent are we comparing like with like? For me it begins to prize open the topic of the commensurability between the spheres of business and education. But this is one choice from a number of models of educational management and some justification for this is needed at this point. This particular model has been chosen because it explicitly concentrates on the complex of values and beliefs in an organisation and situates the subject, (in this study moving from a head teacher focus to the teacher, from a manager focus to the managed), within the range of the interactions and meanings which socially construct the organisation. Bush (1995:94-5) explains that the work of Greenfield and his disciple Hodgkinson, are examples of a subjective model, 'which focus on individuals within organisations rather than the total institution or its subunits [...] each person has a subjective and selective perception of the organisation. Events and situations have different meanings for the various participants in institutions' (Bush 1995: 93). This is the fourth of six models of educational management provided by Bush and the complete list which is a summary of chapters 3 to 8 appears in Appendix 7.

3.6 Conclusion

Cribb and Gewirtz (2001: 46) summarise values drift in the following way:

in practice the market constitutes an incentive structure that rewards schools for particular kinds of behaviour and values and penalises them for others. The argued drift consists of a diminishing concern with need, equity, community and co-operation and an increasing concern with image, discipline, output measures, academic differentiation and competition.

These binaries have been expanded upon in the observations made throughout this chapter from the ethics of teaching, schools and educational administration. Most of the contrasts raised here will be revisited and in particular in the data analysis the DCR concept of alethia, where it will be argued that teachers display a sense that there is a move away from the 'true' values of schools. These 'true values' have been raised by examining the philosophical literature on being ethical in schools. It now remains to consider how this differs from business.

Chapter 4

The Difference between Schools and Businesses –A Case of Incommensurability?

4.1 Introduction

It appears bizarre to those working in business that during the month of May *The Times Educational Supplement* mushrooms into hundreds of pages of teaching job adverts. This is because the contractual deadline in order to be released to take up a new appointment in September falls on May 31st. If a teacher misses securing a new position before then, there can be the agonising decision to hand in your notice with no job to go to, hoping something will become available, or remain in one's current position for another year waiting for the annual rush of job vacancies to start again. Of course if schools were to follow standard business practice then teachers would be allowed to give a customary month's notice to end a contract and not three. Why doesn't this happen? The answer is that schools are not businesses and it would be detrimental to children's education if teachers were allowed to come and leave every month. Imagine the disruption of teachers moving to new positions en masse in the period of exam preparations just before the summer term. Is it a contract of three months notice that prevents teachers pursuing such careless action or is it that teachers have an inherent ethic of care to see exam preparation completed?

In this chapter I want to pursue in detail the various ways we can explore and conceptualise the organisational and ethical differences that exist between schools and business. This is situated in terms of continuing the debate surrounding education and the marketplace not so much in terms of 'public /private provision of education', but rather by contrasting the organisational nature of schools and businesses. Writing ten years earlier Bridges and McLaughlin concluded in their editorial:

The application of market principles to educational provision and practice represents a fundamental shift in our social as well as our educational culture. It is crucial that people inside and outside the education system understand the full implications of this shift as these are worked out in schools and local communities, that they understand both the practical consequences of the shift and *the values which are promoted or lost in the process* (Bridges and McLaughlin 1994).

A further ten years and many researchers have commentated on how this '*fundamental shifting*' has become a comprehensive appropriation of business processes with discourses of mission statements, TQM, PRP, value added, and the extensive use of marketing to attract pupils. Schools remain tax payer funded and the state continues to act as the guarantor of curriculum and teacher quality, but over this period there has been a change in values, '*promoted or lost*' and it is this that is of prime concern in this project. For example, Grace (1994) suggested, writing about the New Zealand context, there has been a displacement of, 'the established discourse of education which spoke of 'children', 'achievements' and 'educational processes', by a new discourse: 'which spoke of 'inputs', 'outputs' and 'production functions'. This, it could be argued, would have a profoundly dehumanising and mechanising effect upon the operation of the education system' (Grace 1994). This contrasting position between new and old discourses raises the issue of

the possibilities of notions of incommensurability or incomparability and the central aim of this chapter is to explore these concepts as a way of describing and explaining the differences between the two spheres of business and schools. To do this I shall refer to the work of Suzuki (2004) who has presented a CR account of incommensurability with reference to establishing a market and non-market boundary. Following on from this distinction he has also discussed the concept of a 'colonisation' between the two spheres, and this is also pertinent in examining the observations such as those made above by Bridges & McLaughlin, and Grace.

These concepts are useful at one level of understanding, but in CR terms commensuration also needs to be seen as a dialectic and I suggest that the concept of a 'contradiction' between the social life forms of business and schools, should be employed from the perspective of DCR. The explanatory power of this concept will then be applied to explore two further areas which were previously mentioned but can be further clarified, namely the distinction between schools as business and business of schools and the concept of 'values drift'. The concepts of 'incommensurability' and 'contradiction' will also be applied to the work of Bottery (Bottery 1990; Bottery 1992; Bottery 1994; Bottery 1998; Bottery 2000a; Bottery 2004) who has written consistently on the differences between business and schools, but has not employed these terms.

The discussion falls into two parts. First (§2) the concept of incommensurability is explained with reference to the methodological device of vignettes. The discussion of their role in the empirical work follows in the next chapter. But at this point it is felt useful to illustrate theoretical issues with these practical examples. Each of the eight scenarios was written with an underpinning notion of incommensurability, between a practice or event

taken from business as it is applied in a school (see Appendix 1). For example the practice of transforming staff relations into core and periphery (v3) or the use of film advertising (v6), or developing an external and internal market in Ofsted materials. A design feature of the interview was to theory test this notion of incommensurability. Second (§3), an argument for applying the dialectical term 'contradiction' is developed. There has been an absence of any systematic use of these two concepts in the critical policy analysis or policy sociology that has studied the impact of marketisation of schools. This I argue needs addressing, and provide examples of the use of these two terms in these areas. Likewise this section argues the relevance of these concepts in a summary of the work of Bottery. I wish to outline some of the key 'comparison tables' that Bottery has made between the two spheres and suggest that a better grip on these is achieved if we explore his underpinning, but unstated position on incommensurability and contradiction (see Appendix 4 Tables 4.1 to 4.4). This theoretical ground prepares the way for the data analysis in a later chapter that examines the ethical beliefs centring on the incommensurability and contradictions between business and schools.

4.2 The Incommensurability of Schools and Business

4.2.1 Incommensurability and incomparability defined

In short incommensurability refers to where two items cannot be measured. Incomparability refers to where two items are incomparable if no positive value relation holds between them Chang (1997:4). To first explore incommensurability. Placing a monetary value on the familial bonds between a parent and child or a walk through the woods, might be attempted by some, (e.g. utilitarians, or in cost/benefit analysis) but it must be conceded that such a measurement is difficult. But what cannot be disputed is that the bonds between siblings are not constituted by money, nor is the aesthetic appreciation of the woods. This is therefore termed constitutive incommensurability, as what constitutes them is our refusal to put a price on them. This useful distinction is drawn from Raz (1986), and Suzuki makes the point that if you start to trade incommensurable items then this transforms them into something else whereupon they are no longer properly constituted as those items. It is empirically possible to sell babies or charge for a walk in the woods but this would then reconstitute the relationship. To give some examples from education. Private tuition fees place an hourly price on lessons that teachers might conduct outside of school. This demonstrates the empirical possibility that a student- teacher relationship can be traded and can thus be constituted by a monetary relation. But this exchange is on the basis of close one-to-one tuition and it is empirically impossible for a teacher to charge this fee for an individual service, when teaching a class of thirty pupils at the same time. If this was attempted it would reconstitute the relationship in the classroom between teacher and student. Likewise, if a teacher charges for writing a job reference, in or outside of school contractual hours, the practice of writing an impartial and honest account of a pupil for

an employer becomes transformed into a service that is traded. Admittedly teachers might receive a form of 'payment' for writing a pupil job reference with some token of gratitude. But this is entirely different to fixing a price, negotiated or otherwise, before completing such a task. So in short this action of trading transforms the teacher-pupil relationship. Clearly what follows on from this is a 'normative undesirability' argument. This asserts that some items or options ought not be traded as not only does it transform them into something else but it in some cases distorts them in negative and damaging ways. So if writing a job reference becomes a traded activity, we might expect that pupils with low incomes will be able to afford fewer references. Further that any differential and/or discriminatory pricing that is adopted by teachers towards their students might embrace some agreement to be 'flexible' with the truth. As a result there is a danger that providing a true and honest account becomes undermined. Therefore, such a practice is said to be both normatively undesirable and is presently an empirical impossibility. It is at this point that Suzuki argues we have located a market boundary. As he explains: 'Items whereby the actions of trying to trade them do not change their nature are marketable. Items whereby the actions of trying to trade them do change their nature are non-marketable' (Suzuki 2004: 77).

Thus if we take the case of the head of the English department of Parkside school, having purchased materials for an Ofsted inspection, decides to charge the head of History for them (v8) (see Appendix 1). This is empirically possible, the external price was set by Flightpath school and a second hand price would need to be fixed, but most teachers interviewed considered it normatively undesirable. Most reasons given, embraced the notion of constitutive incommensurability. These were namely that an internal market would reconstitute the relationships between staff and departments, who

were after all teaching the same children, and needed the same positive inspection result.

4.2.2 *Incomparability defined*

The rough definition of incomparability given by Chang is 'two items are incomparable if no positive value relation holds between them [...]. If items are incomparable nothing affirmative can be said about what relation holds between them' (Chang 1997:4). So if a claim is made that school X is 'better than' or 'less effective than' school Y this says something affirmative about how X and Y relate, while the claim that school X is 'not better than' or 'not more effective than' does not. But to say that school X is 'better than' school Y would require some covering value for comparability, X is better than Y with respect to V, where V ranges over values. But can we compare school X with business B with respect to the instrumental value of efficiency? A positive value relation holds between the two items if we can determine that it is true that a business or a school can be efficient but comparability fails if it is not possible to determine how well an item does with respect to a value and this is termed its merit. But comparability may also fail due to the vagueness of comparative predicates, so for example there is some indeterminacy about 'efficiency' in comparing school X with business B. To suggest 'schools need to be more efficient' projects a notion that schools are poor with respect to this value, a nominal case, but that business is a good exemplar or notable case. To make a choice as to which is the more efficient involves constructing a quantitative continuum of more or less efficiency. But more efficiency is an evaluative comparability as it is not measured in non evaluative units like length or weight. To make this distinction Chang recommends that we 'refer to the non evaluative quantitative notion of 'more V (*i.e. efficiency*)' as '*qmore V (efficiency)*' (Chang 1997) (my example in italicised parenthesis). But as

Chang points out more of a value is not always better, for example it is possible to become over efficient.

The incomparability of teaching one class against another was one aspect of the criticism with regard to the 'naming and shaming' of a member of staff (v7). Exam results will vary year on year because it is impossible to replicate with class A what was done with class B, the two are considered incomparable. Nevertheless comparisons are made, and commensuration is used to transform qualities into quantities, qualitative difference into magnitude. One of the concerns of teachers in relation to this vignette is that this commensuration, (the actualism of everyone, everywhere, and everywhen reduced to a set of results) does in fact depersonalise the students as well as the teacher being named and shamed.

There are three points that I want to draw from this discussion of incommensurability and incomparability. Firstly, I would argue that the comparisons that are made between schools and businesses are characterised by a vagueness that has facilitated a skirting over of the issues of incommensurability and incomparability. By attending to these concepts it sharpens our attention to what is being measured, what cannot be measured, what cannot be sold, and what can be sold but ought not to be. Furthermore it enables us to appreciate more fully the category mistake, *schools are a business*, as well as the questionable metaphor, *schools are like a business*. Second, that commensuration as Suzuki (2005: 275) argues 'is a social process by which agents discursively transform incommensurable values of items into a commensurable form'. This is termed by Suzuki as discursive commensuration, and he discusses this in relation to the ontology of money and the market in two ways:

To say that *discursive commensuration* makes money means that something is constituted as money in a social process by which agents *represent* the social world in terms of a cardinal measure, and a single scale: agents *represent* qualitatively different things as quantitative products, and represent these things with various kinds of value in terms of a single ultimate value such as utility (ibid.: 275).

This concept draws attention to the commensuration processes in the vignettes and the discomfort that is felt at times tends to stem from stretching the commensuration process too far. For example, the peripheralisation of the ALS staff is clearly attributed to money or costs (v3), likewise, providing extra classes for grade D students (v4), or fixing a deal for film advertising (v6). It is this reduction 'of everything too money or costs', that many teachers found objectionable in the vignettes. Similarly all management action directed towards the 'single ultimate value such as' a league table position, also amounts to money in terms of pupil driven revenue, and a good example of this is provided in vignette one. The other aspect of money that Suzuki discusses is:

To say that money *makes discursive commensuration* means that money leads agents to *conceive of* and *speak of* something as if it were a commodity subject to market exchange. Money leads agents to quantify and standardise all sorts of values, even to make them saleable by the 'market rhetoric'. Moreover, money leads agents to *perceive and articulate* their social roles and identities in terms of a cardinal measure and of a common scale (ibid.: 275).

Thus, objections were raised to the head-teacher manipulating the new intake cohort (v1), as it centred on depersonalising students as they are measured in terms of worth in the local economy of league tables. Likewise, the ICT classroom being measured in terms of its revenue -raising from film advertising (v6). Also the expertise of a senior management and/or

department team of a school being measured in terms of their income generation from Ofsted consultancy (v8b) or sales of Ofsted resources in the intra-schools market (v8a). Thus, some of the discomfort that teachers feel stems from two sources. First, the quantification and standardisation that constitutes money as a universal measure of value, namely *'its all about money and costs isn't it?'* (Mandeep). Second, in the very act of using money we then become involved in the process of commensuration. Thus, objections were made to the internal market for Ofsted materials (v8b), claiming that it could embroil teachers in a farcical bidding process, which leads to everything being tagged with a price. To overcome this several teachers felt the solution was to have central purchasing scheme either at the LEA or school level. This would halt school departments becoming preoccupied with measuring who owed what and to whom.

A third point is to distinguish between a claim of incommensurability (or incomparability), and what are incommensurable values. This is important to note as there is a danger that the differences between schools and businesses might be too easily presented as incommensurable for strategic advantage. For example, a teacher could feel uncomfortable with the film adverts (v6), claiming that no amount of money should be accepted to advertise corruptible Hollywood films. This incommensurability claim does not make constitutive incommensurability between money and a Hollywood free classroom. It is empirically possible to fix a price and then turn the classroom computers into advertising space. But this would transform the classroom and the values a teacher attempts to sustain might be incomparable with those of Hollywood movies. Similarly, it is empirically possible that a second-hand price can be established for selling, internally, Ofsted materials. But this might transform the relations between departments, as collaboration, goodwill and long-term favours towards educating the same students may be

replaced by exchange at a price (v8b) (see Appendix 1). Are these values of collaboration, goodwill and money commensurable? The objections made by teachers to this internal market stem from a claim of constitutive incommensurability, and that sharing rather than selling constitutes the relations between staff in departments. The refusal to put a price on these commitments of collaboration, goodwill is a constitutive feature of those commitments of staff to each other. Several teachers felt it abhorrent that the market could penetrate and then colonise relations within the school. Throughout a strong sense was presented of drawing and maintaining a boundary. Within the boundary there is also a belief that the activities within a school are governed by ethics that differ to business. Something akin to this view lies in Walzer's (1983) argument of 'blocked exchange' where boundaries are marked out between market and non-market spheres. What constitutes justice within each sphere is governed by principles pertaining to that sphere. Suzuki refers to this argument and develops it by outlining Andre's (1995) concepts previously mentioned of, 'empirically impossibility' and 'normative undesirability'. These two terms sum up the theory testing aspect of the vignette discussions.

4.2.3 Application of critical realism to explore the ontology of a market boundary

In order to establish a market boundary Suzuki compares and contrasts the three ontological positions of empirical realism, post-structuralism and critical realism across three dualities: (i) social structure and agency; (ii) the transitive and intransitive dimensions, and (iii) the extra-discursive and discursive. After a truncated summary of the first two ontological positions, Suzuki argues the benefits of a CR position along the three dualities. I shall summarise his main points and relate them to occasions where the determination of a market boundary arises in the vignettes.

- i. 'A market boundary is generated by social structures, which are recreated, reproduced, and transformed via human agency. The structures of the exchange spheres (i.e. commodity/non-commodity) and human interactions (i.e. buying/selling between aliens, giving/receiving between friends) are both precondition and outcome for each other' (ibid.: 80).

A clear case of changing structures via human agency is that of transferring the ALS staff from a contract *of* employment to a contract *for* employment. The new contracts offered through a hiring agency are a commensuration that re-creates a market boundary, and they transform staff relations into core and peripheral workers.

- ii. 'A market boundary is theory-laden (*transitive dimension*). It cannot exist independently from human agency, but can exist independently from any one human agent' (*intransitive dimension*) (ibid.: 80). Our knowledge of a market boundary is a social product and this knowledge that is produced exists independently of the market of itself. Thus we have two kinds of 'object' of knowledge:

a *transitive dimension*, in which the object is the material cause or antecedently established knowledge which is used to generate the new knowledge; and an *intransitive dimension*, in which the object is the real structure or mechanism that exists and acts quite independently of men and the conditions which allow men access to it (Bhaskar 1975:17).

This distinction corresponds to an epistemological side of human practices in general that is our conceptions or theories of what exists (*transitive*) and an ontological side that is where actions or objects themselves occur (*intransitive*).

Therefore, a market boundary does not depend on our identification of it, and is not entirely independent of our identification. When managers award themselves a post-Ofsted bonus (v2c), they adopt a business practice for which there was no agreement from any of the teachers interviewed. Part of the objection can be expressed as a moving of the 'out there' boundary of the market, into the 'in here' of the non-market school. In short it introduces a market theory discourse of 'trickle-down motivation' (*transitive dimension*), into a non-market sphere, where the real structures and mechanisms (*intransitive dimension*) operate in a different fashion. A market sphere exists where things can be commensurated via money and the award of a bonus promotes this practice of commensuration. What money can buy is what makes a market and this can be separated from the non-market sphere which is where money cannot buy things. Therefore, a second objection is a reinforcement of distance as the work of management but not the managed, is presented as commensurable with Ofsted success.

- iii. 'A market boundary is both extra-discursive and discursive [...] commensuration as a discursive process [is] in articulation with the extra-discursive properties of things [...] Things are either marketable or non-marketable on the grounds that they are partly an empirical existence (i.e. extra-discursive) and partly a social construction (i.e. discursive)' (ibid.: 81).

In discussion about providing extra-classes for grade D students (v4), it was recognised that this would prove to be 'overtime' for certain teachers, namely those of English, Maths and Science. Thus there is a commensuration of some teachers in terms of monetary pay and their input into league table positions. This is a discursive commensuration but involves the extra-discursive properties of staying on after the school day or working at weekend study

centres, where the internal social relations of teacher and student continue to exist. There is one further example I would like to provide in order to conclude this section about establishing a market boundary.

In the Sunday Times (28 November 2004) a news headline declared, 'Inspector Woodhead opens school chain' and referred to an enterprise led by the former Chief Inspector of schools. To quote a little more detail:

Cognita, the company that Woodhead chairs, has bought its first school and plans to take over at least twenty-four during the next two years, teaching as many as 10,000 children [...] Woodhead said Cognita would not compete with Britain's best known private schools. "We have Harrods and we have Tesco," he said. "Of course, schools are very different to supermarkets but there is room for more than one level of provision.

Clearly some comparability between businesses and schools is made here although there is a reservation over the incommensurability of values between schools and supermarkets. The business colonisation of schools is suggested by the business practice of 'takeovers'. In the CR terms, outlined above, we can make a number of observations. Firstly there is the discursive practice of comparing schools with supermarkets, a social construction, which is not readily conceded, but there is also an acceptance of an extra-discursive dimension as schools have an empirical existence prior to discourse, they are 'different'. The boundary line between schools, businesses and supermarkets, is generated by social structures, which are recreated, reproduced and transformed via social agency. So for example commensuration by agents transforms the incommensurable into the commensurable and re-creates a market boundary. Private company structures permit 'takeovers', which may then reproduce and or transform the structure of these educational activities and serve to sustain a market boundary. In addition the 'Harrods and Tesco'

reference is a discourse of hierarchy between supermarkets, which is then hinted at as a commensuration for the hierarchy of private sector schools. This activity of supermarkets as well as the actions of schooling occurs in the intransitive dimension. But the theories about schooling, suggesting here at this point commensurability with supermarkets, are the transitive objects that connect reality with science. To hint that schools are like businesses but not supermarkets creates a market boundary that is not entirely 'out there' as in empirical realism and is not purely 'in here' as a social construction. Rather there is reflection between the intransitive and transitive dimensions as the 'Harrods/Tesco hierarchy theory' from the independent reality of supermarkets as a transitive object, is applied to the intransitive dimension of private schooling. But the argument that 'schools are different' in this suggested commensuration on private school reality, thus refers to both the intransitive dimensions, that is the independent realities of schools and businesses as well as the transitive, that is theories of 'Harrods /Tesco hierarchy'.

As mentioned Suzuki (2004) argues the case for CR in his comparison between three ontological positions. Rather than pursue this theoretical line I wish to connect the theory to a practical level, and claim that the benefit of CR is the purchase that it offers in the data analysis. This has been illustrated with reference to the different vignettes and I want to conclude this section with two summary remarks. First, CR provides a way for 'arguing that a market boundary exists both for us and on its own- i.e. it is both a social construction (i.e. discursive) but also an empirical fact (i.e. extra-discursive)' (ibid.: 81) Therefore, the sales of Ofsted materials, or consultancy advice in an- inter-/intra -school market (v8a/b) is an empirical reality but this is the activity of a non-market sector crossing a market boundary and in doing so recreates it.

Likewise, film adverts in schools, (v2) are an empirical possibility in the vignette but this was written from an empirical reality. In the discussion of these two vignettes as well as others, there is a constant testing of how far can a market boundary be preserved, how the market and non-market spheres are internally related and whether 'anything is in fact possible'? What CR offers is a way of capturing the sense conveyed (discursive –transitive) by the teachers that ontologically schools are indeed different to businesses, (extra-discursive) but that there are policies and practices that are recreating the boundaries of what belongs to which sphere. These two opposing spheres are in fact dialectically related and both a boundary is created between them, which tends to make them non-permeable, but also the spheres internalise each other, which tends to make them permeable. Suzuki draws on the work of Keat (1993:6-20), and explains the notion of the market impacting on the non-market spheres in a 'replicatory' and 'non-replicatory' form. In the case of the former market norms and meanings are projected into non-market spheres, this is a case of market colonisation. For example teachers are measured in terms of their contribution to exam results and league table positions, (v7) or an ICT classroom is measured in terms of its potential revenue generation from film adverts (v6). In a non-replicatory form economic activities create a sphere that is dissimilar from an economic sphere, such as family life and friendships. The vignette discussions suggest this is what schools should be about, a place where there are strong personal relations. The teachers' present a sense of wanting to 'hold on to' these relations between individuals that they feel is under threat. This is expressed in an ethic of care which is stifled by considerations of cost or an instrumental focus on league table positions.. Again CR paves a way for making sense of what the 'holding on' is 'about'. This 'aboutness' needs to be grasped, it is something independent of discursive constructions, and discernable by retroduction. Thus what CR combines is an ontological boldness about what exists as schools with an

epistemological relativism about how schools can be re-described or re-constructed.

4.3 The Work of Bottery

One commentator who has written extensively on identifying the differences between schools and business has been Mike Bottery. I would now like to discuss some of his books and make connections with the concepts of incommensurability/incomparability and contradictions between business and school values. These are not concepts that Bottery uses, which I suggest is an oversight as most of his work has centred on establishing the extent to which schools and businesses are incomparable or follow contradictory practices. For over fifteen years Bottery has consistently expressed a concern that managerialist approaches have a negative impact on the development of 'ethical schools' and that this is compounded by a de-professionalisation of teaching which results in the downplaying of professional ethics. His strident appeal for a moral school management so as to enhance the morality of schools is tied to an urgency that this is necessary for the sake of society. As this present study is concerned with exploring the ethical beliefs of teachers in schools now run as businesses it is both necessary and important to engage with Bottery's oeuvre. But I shall do so in a highly selective fashion, ignoring some relevant arguments as well as books and proceed by focusing attention on three comparative tables constructed by Bottery and then a fourth that I have adapted, which are used to compare and contrast the differences between businesses and schools (see Appendix 4 Table 4.4).

Table 4.1. Nine Analogies between the Business and Educational Management Literature from *'The Ethics of Educational Management'* (1992) (see Appendix 4 Table 4.1).

Bottery provides a brief survey of the reasons why education turned to and appropriated business management theory. He suggests this arose due to: a commonality between organisations, a paucity of specific educational theory, the dominance of a free –market ideology, and the assumption that it has the edge on promoting efficiency. He does not attribute any weight or cause to these factors but certainly raises a moot point which requires further development and this is pursued by Thrupp and Willmott (2003).

Bottery then goes on to present Handy and Aitken's (1986) claim that there are four differences between schools and other organisations. These involve (i) the perception that schools have no time for management, (ii) the assertion that business aims are fewer and more identifiable than 'the pile of purposes of schools', (iii) there is a problem of 'role switching' where to be a manager you have to leave the classroom, and (iv) where in management theory do you position children – as clients, consumers, or products? In addition to these points Bottery then raises a fifth and argues that the whole 'management and workers' research perspective, drawn from the work of Taylor, is imbued with industrial values that is inappropriate with an analysis of a school. This is an appeal to incommensurability that requires further justification.

The 'four differences' recounted by Handy and Aitken is a useful starting point. Indeed some weight might be attached to their arguments given that a formidable business management commentator such as Charles Handy reminds us, together with a former director of education: 'But schools are not businesses- it might be simpler if they were –and many of the organisational

concepts were hammered out and tested in business organisations' (Handy and Aitken 1986:34).

However these 'four differences' provide us with examples of, rather than a CR explanation for, incommensurability and some theoretical discussion of those issues raised above should be in order. For example, to re-capitulate, what is the agency – structure interaction that marks out a boundary between the two spheres? What are the transitive and intransitive dimensions of this boundary? How is (in)commensurability discursively constructed?

Bottery (1992:114) proceeds with his own exploration of incommensurability/incomparability by suggesting that education is increasingly considered as analogous to business and he sets out to illustrate this with a series of examples:

Education, then must not become the inhabitant of a Procrustean bed of business theory, its inhabitants to be unnaturally altered to fit a particular theory. The only real way of making sure this does not happen is to look at the fit between the bed and its occupants. In other words what are the business analogies which increasingly work their way into the educational management literature? There appear to be nine.

These nine analogies appear in Appendix 4, Table 4.1, which also contains three other tables taken from Bottery 's work (1992, 1994, 1998, 2000a but not 2000b) for the purpose of comparison. Each of these nine analogies is discussed by Bottery in turn but it is important to note that this is done from the perspective of his introductory comment on the Procrustean bed. This analogy from Greek mythology is itself a powerful one as Bottery sees educational theory being forcibly stretched, in these nine ways, to fit the bed of business theory in the same manner that the bandit Damastes would

stretch travellers in order to fit his own bed near Attica. In definitional terms, Procrustean bed refers to: 'An arbitrary standard to which exact conformity is forced.' So Bottery's concern is that education is expected to conform to these nine arbitrary business standards or practices. As he examines each in turn, his method is to argue that education does not fit into the management theory bed and that this 'stretching' to make it do so will distort the proper conception of education. In some cases he does touch on a form of critique of these business 'standards' in their own terms and argues that there are inherent problems with greater accountability, management by objectives, hierarchical management or improved performance through competition. The implication here is that there is something at fault in the business world and this should not be copied by education. However, Bottery does not counteract this with a series of 'educational standards or values' or establish a boundary that could be derived from within the educational field of philosophy of education, curriculum theory or public sector policy analysis i.e. present an alternative educational bed (to stretch the metaphor!). This is a necessary direction to follow, in order to make sense of the issues behind incommensurability. For there needs to be an understanding about the essences of both spheres if we are to accept the principle of blocked exchange. Unfortunately this is not addressed by Bottery, largely because he accepts commensurability to some extent but not expressed in these terms for example he states by way of conclusion to this chapter:

There would seem to be a number of things that could profitably be translated from other contexts and used in education, but they are not the kind of things which can be taken down ready-made from the shelf and bolted onto the educational organisation. They must be moulded, adapted, re-invented almost (ibid.: 127).

But what form would such moulding, adaptation or re-invention actually take? To answer this would require a full account of the values of education and business. What is interesting to note is that Bottery is touching on what the subject matter demands that is dialectical issues and concepts. This becomes a little more explicit in his next work but is never spelt out.

Table 4.2. Six Possible Differences Posited as Indicating a Gulf Between Commercial and Non-Profit Organisations from '*Lessons for Schools?*' (1994) (see Appendix 4 Table 4.2)

The subtitle to Bottery's third book neatly explains its rationale: 'A comparison of Business and Educational Management.' After a short introduction, five case studies are presented, four from business and one from a hospital. These companies were Marks and Spencers, BP Chemicals, Fabricast and Anglo-Motors and the hospital was an East Yorkshire NHS trust named Castle Hill. There is little discussion about the methods used to assemble these case studies. Rather than a full ethnography, there appears to be some use of ethnographic tools such as observations from site visits, interviews with management and a study of company documentation such as mission statements, organisational charts, and strategic policy plans. Each of the case studies are explored with a view to answering three central questions. Firstly what is common in each of these organisations and suitable for adoption by schools? Second, what might be unique about the enterprise and whether what is identified is something that is appropriate for schools or would be an invalid and damaging transfer? Third, whether schools have something to teach these organisations? So central to this investigation is a notion of commensurability and this is pursued through the spectrum of 'purposes' 'transferabilities' 'differences' and 'convergence'. In Chapter Seven he concerns himself with institutional isomorphism and the narrowing of differences between the commercial and non-profit sectors, which he equates

with schools. Before a judgement can be made, Bottery explores the extent of this isomorphism around six areas and these are listed in Appendix 4 Table 4.2. They are namely i. Different incentives; ii. Profit; iii. Competition; iv. Mission; v. Hierarchy; vi. Limited constituencies. Most of these areas are self explanatory but a few words need to be said about Bottery's method and the value of what has been provided.

- i. As with Table 4.1, (see Appendix 4 Tables 4.1 and 4.2), the list provides leverage on questions of (in)commensurability between the spheres of business and schools. To contrast them, using the three dualities previously mentioned, Table 4.1 touches on discursive referents of analogies, where as Table 4.2 concentrates on the intransitive dimensions and extra-discursive construction of a boundary line. Where the first list considers an ill-fit between theories, this second list sets out the practical structural differences. The second list contains elements of the first (competition, hierarchy, objectives,) but there is a greater emphasis on the measurable and performativity within a business paradigm. This makes the ambition of discovering any uniqueness about schools a problematic as it involves measuring against six structural criteria the derivation for which has not been explained. In fact what Bottery is doing is measuring policy regimes rather than essential differences. Taken from a typology produced by Clark and Wilson (1961), Bottery accepts it is dated, and that it loses rigour by not specifically comparing with schools. However he proceeds to compare and contrast the two spheres against the six criteria.

Table 4.3. Do Education and Health in the UK Resemble a Market in Business? (from *Professionals and Policy: Management Strategy In a Competitive World* (1998)) (see Appendix 4 Table 4.3).

A further taxonomy that attempts to cover aspects of (in)commensurability between business and schools is produced in Bottery's fourth book. In this case a comparison is made using twelve criteria of whether education and health in the UK resemble a market in business (see Appendix 4 Table 4.3). To compare the three tables so far. Table 4.1 captures processes of change, 4.2 a static comparison of differences by proxy whilst 4.3 sets out to position the public sector activities of health and education in terms of changes towards marketisation. Taken together the three map out the contours of the spheres of business and schooling and help define the boundary line between the two. But most of all they set out criteria for commensuration whilst implying that there are aspects of the two spheres that are incommensurable. As a result at the forefront of his approach is a search for comparable indicators of measurement rather than establishing identifiers of uniqueness.

Underpinning the methodological use of Table 4.3 is the concept of virtualism. This is a term coined by Carrier and Miller (1998), which suggests that we now live in a virtual world not of information technology but of the economic model of perfect competition. In a perverse way they claim that the real world is now measured against abstract economic models and if found wanting is expected to adjust to conform to the model. Referring to Karl Polanyi they argue that a central problem of economic abstraction is the problem of 'dis-embedding'. This refers to:

The removal of economic activities from the social and other relationships in which they have occurred, and carrying them out in a context in which the only important

relationships are those defined by the economic activity itself. In essence, economic activity becomes abstracted from social relations (Carrier and Miller 1998: 2).

As in the case of re-tuning the world to the model of perfect competition, Bottery sets out the market criteria to 'measure up' how far health and education have been re-tuned accordingly. He concludes that this re-tuning is teleological rather than ideological and it is worth quoting at length his scepticism concerning the manipulation of professionals:

So, whilst quasi-markets are in evidence in both the sectors, they hardly conform to market ideology [...]. Market proposals become, then, little more than a ploy to increase the 'productivity' and responsiveness of professionals and other workers, through an encouragement among 'producers' for a more entrepreneurial attitude, and through the threat of the downside of market logic – the loss of occupation. The market, according to this view, is increasingly no more than a means to an end, not a defining character of how the services should be run. Thus the second and more important aim is that of keeping a strong hold on policy direction, an aim which runs counter to free market arguments (Bottery 1998: 11).

Note the three contradictions of (i) putting forward market proposals but not practice, (ii) of increasing productivity for decreased professional status, and (iii) of using the 'free market' to 'steer policy' and 'constrain' professionals.

At this point some clarification needs to be made about contradictions. In the simplest of terms they refer to 'any kind of dissonance, strain or tension', but are most clearly specifiable in relation to human action, where they refer to 'a situation which permits the satisfaction of one end or [...] result only at the expense of another: that is, a bind or constraint.' (Bhaskar 1993: 56). They fall into two broad classes: external or contingent, and internal or necessary. It is the latter that we are interested in here. Internal contradictions are *double-binds* or *self-constraints*. Formal logical contradictions are a species of internal contradiction. Thus, if a school is not a business, the proposition: 'Grange

school is a business' or 'Grange school is both a business and a school', embodies a logical contradiction. But there is another class of internal contradiction – dialectical contradictions, which involve dialectical connections and distinctions. Here the elements of a totality (e.g. schools-business) are distinct yet inseparable in that they existentially presuppose each other, and they are necessarily in conflict. Schools or hospitals can be managed as if to make a profit, yet are not businesses. In the school-business relation there is a unity of opposites where the elements are connected but not contained within a whole and necessarily in tension with each other. The quote from Bottery above calls attention to both logical and dialectical contradictions. First, there is a species of logical contradiction (theory-practice contradiction) whereby the ideology of market freedom is contradicted by the practice of steering and constraining. And second there is a dialectical contradiction in that productivity and professionalism become connected and are necessarily in conflict.

The importance of contradictions under managerialism is central to the work of Willmott (2002). In his empirical work he conducted a case study of two primary schools and identified the 'constraining contradictions' of managerialism in schools (A) in relation to a child-centred philosophy of education (B) and the commitment that this entails to an ethic of care. These two positions are logically inconsistent at the cultural (CS) level and exert a conditional influence upon teachers as agents (the S-C level) if they try to uphold one or the other of these positions. Because of the necessary incompatibilities of these two beliefs (A and B), a form of strain arises as teachers committed to B have to live with A and this constraining contradiction produces a situational logic that requires those adhering to A to make a correction of its relationship with B or vice versa. There are thus three paths that can be followed: B is corrected to be consistent with A; or A is

corrected to be consistent with B; or both A and B are corrected to become mutually consistent. This correction of inconsistency results in 'ideational syncretism' which is the 'attempt to sink differences and effect union between the contradictory elements concerned' (Archer 1995: 233). Thus Willmott's study recounts the differences between Southside primary school where managerialist practices (A) moulded child centredness (B) to fit the 'package', and at Westside where there are attempts to accommodate A to B. The situational logic is therefore guided by compromise as vested interests make concessions one way or the other. This is in contrast to other situational logics that may be a defensive protection, competitive elimination or an opportunistic embracing of either A or B. These possible responses are not only examined at the macro-level: Willmott presents interview data that demonstrates the 'constraining contradictions' that individual teachers experience. In Chapter Seven the concept of contradiction will be returned to and will be considered in more dialectical terms and illustrated with data.

Table 4.4. Seven examples of first-order social and moral values reduced to second-order managerial values from '*Education, Policy and Ethics (2000)*'.

In Chapter Three of Bottery's sixth book and the last I shall comment on, there is an interesting discussion on managerialism's assault on educational values. His central argument is that managerialism weakens and debases the core values of schools and society at large. He argues that there are seven first-order social and moral values which are reduced to second-order managerial values, and these are autonomy, criticality, care, tolerance, equality, respect and trust and these are set out in Table 4.4 in Appendix 4. It is Bottery's contention that these core values may be either subverted, subordinated or allowed to subsist but according to managerial requirements. For example, care a core ethic of the public sector and in schools may be subverted by

managerialism that emphasises quantifiable measurements or subordinated by its absence from a 'tick-box' checklist, or allowed to subsist but only as a component of 'value-added'. Thus providing the care for all students get above a grade C (v4) is subverted by the D borderline rule, is subordinated to league table positioning, and is allowed to subsist in a quote form of those at the grade D/C borderline. To take another example, Bottery defines equality in three ways:

Ontological equality: the desire to ensure that all individuals are granted equal, fundamental respect as individuals.

Equality of opportunity: the attempt to ensure that everyone begins from the same starting point in the race of life.

Equality of outcome or result: the attempt to ensure that everyone ends up with approximately the same rewards in life, regardless of starting point' (ibid.: 71).

If all or any of these three definitions does not fit managerial aims then according to Bottery they can be simply omitted. Scientific management practices require that for the 'units' to achieve the 3E's then predictability and manipulation is rather than equality and respect. Fixing the new intake cohort (v1) and naming and shaming violates ontological equality. The peripheralisation of ALS teaching and the grade D rule breaks with equality of opportunity. Whilst the award of a post-Ofsted bonus subverts equality of outcome or result. In this book Bottery places the dialectics of marketization and managerialism alongside with the further dialectic of globalisation. But as in his previous work there is no attempt to discuss what implicitly his subject matter demands.

4.4 Conclusion

The concepts and issues raised in this chapter will be returned to again in Chapter Seven when a data analysis is conducted of the teachers' response to the vignettes. It was felt important to reveal the vignettes at this juncture in order to provide firm and practical examples of these theoretical abstractions. The use of the concept incommensurability and dialectic has been missed by Bottery yet it encapsulates much of his work. The argument of this chapter is that by directing attention to this concept and teasing out what can and cannot be measured or compared between businesses and schools, we can begin to uncover ethical beliefs that may be in tension. The aim of this chapter has been to break what has almost become a taboo, namely to highlight that contradictions both logical and dialectical exist in treating schools as if they are a business. Further that these contradictions are accentuated by applying similar commensuration to both business and schools and to set up business commensuration within and across schools. This has set down the theoretical ground to then explore empirically how these contradictions enable or constrain the ethical beliefs of teachers. In the next chapter the methodology behind this empirical work is elaborated.

This brings to a close the first part of the thesis where the substantive concerns have been outlined, and the position of the study in relation to previous research has been set out. A fuller theoretical exposition of CR concepts such as found in Danermark et al (2002), Carter and New (2004) or Sayer (1992; 2000; 2004b) has been reserved for the next chapter where the empirical methodology is discussed. Instead, the first part has utilised CR concepts in a partial underlabouring role and this is continued in the next chapter (see §5.3 iv.). This Lockean conception (see Bhaskar (1989b: vii) Collier

(1994: 19) refers to CR philosophy acting in the role of a 'kind of clearing of the ideological ground' (Bhaskar: *ibid*). Thus the first part has employed CR as the 'occasional midwife' (Bhaskar *ibid*: 24) to critical policy analysis. It has been argued in the first part that a substantive aim for policy sociology should be to deliver an analysis of managerialist policy that restores 'lay normativity'. Therefore, in part two an account is given of a method to conduct qualitative research in order to capture this 'lay normativity'. Then in part three a method is elaborated as to how to conduct an analysis of the data that has been gathered.

Part II

Bringing Critical Realism to Qualitative Educational Research

Chapter 5

Methodological Matters

5.1 Introduction

Described by Outhwaite (1987: 34) as 'ontologically bold but epistemologically cautious', CR, I want to argue in this chapter, has much to offer qualitative research and in particular ethnographic methods. As a meta-theory first formulated over thirty years ago, it has attempted to reinstate ontology as a philosophical starting point and steer a midway path through the debates between positivism and the social constructionism of postmodernism. It is 'critical' in its commitment to 'changing unsatisfactory or oppressive realities', and 'realist' in its claim that there is an external reality which exists relatively or absolutely independently of people's beliefs or understanding about it (Benton and Craib 2001: 120). As a development in social theory it does not offer a 'cook book' on how to conduct empirical research, or analyse qualitative data, but rather provides guidelines on how one might judge existing methods and practice. So to this end I want to apply

CR ideas to developing qualitative research into managerialism in two types of schooling, an FE college and a comprehensive secondary school, with a specific focus on exploring the ethical beliefs of teachers. This, I argue, calls for ontological boldness and an acceptance of epistemological relativism, including fallibilism. I make no strong claims about my research sites. They are places subject to educational reform and to the work of management. They offer places to begin, in terms of CR work, to explore the question of practical ethics and 'lay normativity'.

This chapter is divided into six further sections. In §2 I outline the social ontology of CR and link this with the practice of ethnography. This project is not a full ethnography but used ethnographic tools and I use ethnography as a marker for qualitative research in education. Then in §3 I explain the features of a CR ethnography using one specific example to date, the research conducted by Sam Porter in a hospital setting. Following this, §4 outlines the ethnographic tools that were used in data collection, §5 discusses the central research question, §6 explains the theory behind a realist interview, and §7 makes some observations about the vignette technique.

5.2 The Social Ontology of Critical Realism and the Practice of Ethnographic Methods

'What characterises ethnography?' is the understandable opening question to *Ethnographic Research: A Reader* (Taylor 2002: 1). The answer from Van Maanen is as follows:

The term is wide ranging, with different associations and traditions within different disciplines. Some common features which are often identified are that it involves empirical work, especially observation in order to study people's lives, defined

broadly ('human activities' (Baszanger and Dodier 1997), 'ways of life' (Denzin 1997), 'human experience', (Willis and Trondman 2000). Recent theoretical texts also emphasise the centrality of writing (e.g. Denzin, 1997) (Van Maanen 1995).

The empirical work mentioned involves finding ways to get to know 'about' something, and in my case it is the ethical beliefs of teachers working under managerialist regimes, although in my case I did not undertake a full scale process of ethnographic observation. This 'aboutness' is what orientates the CR researcher. This is the ontology, the 'being' of which we have beliefs, which is relatively independent of those beliefs and is, in principle, knowable. The 'human activities, experiences and ways of life' in the two different types of schooling are ones in which I myself have been a participant. They form the object of my knowledge production, and they are 'carried on' and still 'carry on' today, independently of how my beliefs about them may be described, labelled or conceptualised here, except insofar as they may influence them in the future. This touches on a distinction Bhaskar (1989b: 47) makes between 'causal interdependency' and 'existential intransitivity'. The process of producing knowledge about these activities has a causal interdependency with the object of knowledge in that the concepts and theories employed to explain such a phenomenon as in this case 'managerialism' forms part of the field of inquiry. For in social science we are dependent on using concepts that are not independent from the rest of society but may, indeed, causally influence the social arena. To use the term 'managerialism' is to do more than simply label some phenomenon, as by doing so one may alter what one is seeking to explain. It is quite possible that social actors as a consequence of using this term, in everyday conversation or academic literature, may adapt their practices in response. This is in sharp contrast to the natural sciences where the phenomenon of 'gravity' does not change if you name it 'gravity', that is there is no causal interdependency. But once an object of knowledge is

produced, such as 'gravity' or 'managerialism', its existence is 'quite independent of the act or process of investigation of which it is the putative object, even though such an investigation, once initiated, may radically modify it (i.e. existential intransitivity)' (ibid.: 47).

This has tremendous importance for ethnography, and as Bhaskar (ibid.: 48) explains further, 'there is a relational tie between the development of knowledge and the development of the object of knowledge that any adequate theory of social science, and methodology of social scientific research programmes must take account of'.

What CR therefore requires is that ethnographers have sensitivity to their involvement in, and effect on, the object of study. This is a truistic point, it may be said, something that is already well understood, and often thrashed out in discussions relating to participant observation. However, CR demands a different type of 'reflexivity', as it posits the existence of a reality that is intransitive (fully determined and determinate at any one moment of time), and it is this that forms the basis for judging the legitimacy of our theoretical abstractions. So an early methodological point is that my epistemological constructions may involve reflexively grappling with both 'emic' and 'etic' understandings, having once been a teacher on the inside, and now on the outside, but the account will always be 'about' a social ontology that needs to be made explicit at the outset. Critical realism has a particularly distinctive approach to ontology and as Scott (2005: 634) explains it 'makes the assumption that an ontological theory presupposes an epistemological theory; and further to this that this meta-theory influences the way data are collected and analysed about the social world (the strategic and methodological levels)'.

Much economic theory encompasses, implicitly or explicitly, a methodologically individualist ontology which prescribes that economic behaviour be explained in terms of individuals and the relations between them (See Lawson 1997). Thus the role ontology plays is one of ‘regulating’ the explanatory programme that is presented from within the context of what is said to exist socially. So, as only individuals and their relations exist according to methodological individualism, it is the ontology of individuals that explains social phenomena. Since ontology prescribes what is allowed into an explanatory programme, this means that influences deriving from social structures that are sui generis real will not get a mention, with everything reduced to the activities of individuals and their intended and unintended consequences. So within CR many of the deficiencies in practical social theories arise from an inadequate social ontology. Critical realism itself elaborates a deep and complex ontology, which I now summarise in relation to ethnography.

Firstly, reality is conceived as being stratified into three domains or levels as in Figure 5.1 below which overlap.

	Domain of Real	Domain of Actual	Domain of Empirical
Mechanisms	✓		
Events	✓	✓	
Experiences	✓	✓	✓

Figure 5.1. The three ontological levels of reality (Bhaskar 1975:56)

Following this schema, a shortcoming I would like to suggest of some ethnographic practice and analysis, is an over-concentration on trying to represent or describe observations at the level of the empirical. For example,

participant observation field notes can be excessively empiricist, recognising only the first level phenomena as real. Thick or thin description may present rewarding insights, but they tend to remain surface level phenomena, and description is as far as it goes. Some ethnographers may interpret behaviour by referring to subjectively intended meanings that they immediately observe. They thereby recognise the existence of the 'un-experienced', but a criticism is that they are still relying extensively on experienceable events as making up what is real. This is referred to as 'actualism', where the domain of the empirical and actual are collapsed together. This produces a flat ontology where perceptions (empirical) and events (actual) are indistinguishable. Again ethnographies may reproduce 'critical incident' events experienced by the researcher in the field or what the researched recount in, say, an interview; but the emphasis is on capturing, and being content to recount, the 'experienced'. However, claims such as 'I know because I was there', or 'I saw it with my own eyes', for critical realists reduce what is in the world to what we can know about it. This is termed the 'epistemic fallacy', defined by Bhaskar (1975: 47) as 'the view that statements about being can be reduced to or analysed in terms of statements about knowledge'.

So in much ethnography there is a prioritising of epistemology over ontology. The problem with this is that reality is therefore reduced to empirical observation, which exhausts and defines it, and hence must be deemed to be identical with empirically grounded conceptions of it. But for critical realists the focus of attention should be directed not only at the empirically observable or surface appearances but also what lies below the surface appearance, there is more to reality than what we know. Reality is not transparent; if everything that there is were in the open, then there would be no need for science. Reality has powers and mechanisms which we cannot observe but which we can experience indirectly by their ability to cause or

make observable things happen in the world. The task of the scientist is to search in the domain of the real for the powers, mechanisms, and tendencies that generate what is observable. As Sayer (1992: 51) has neatly summarised about the role of observation as a data gathering method, ‘there is more to seeing than meets the eye’.

The Figure 5.2 below shows a set of events, mechanisms and structures, as they exist in a complex and compound whole, for example in human society or within an organisational setting such as an FE college or comprehensive school. This is the ontological map that is used to guide the ethnography in the empirical part of this study.

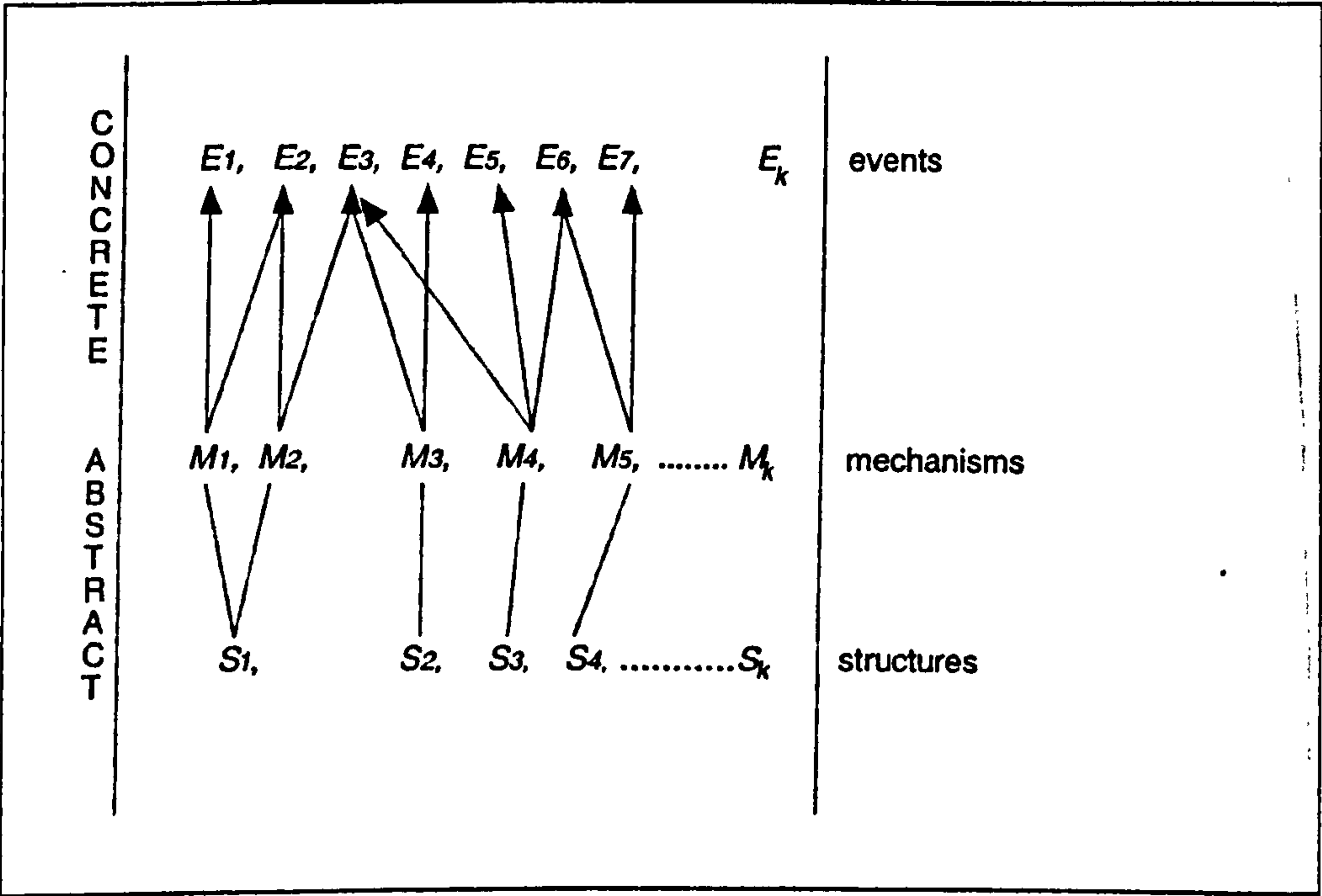


Figure 5.2. Structures, Mechanisms and Events (Sayer 1992: 117)

To summarise this figure it shows that when the structural mechanisms are activated, ($S_1[\dots]S_n$ and $M_1[\dots]M_n$ etc.) they produce certain effects

(E1[...]En), depending on what other mechanisms they at the time happen to combine with. A particular mechanism can produce completely different actions at different times, and conversely the same event can have completely different causes. So I now want to develop this further and provide some concrete examples from the college context, in order to demonstrate the efficacy of CR in relation to other methodologies.

A concern raised above is that ethnographies may be content to recount events such as E1 to E5 and then extrapolate from them to provide a generalisation about the issues under investigation. Little or no attention is given to the mechanisms or structures that have generated these events. So it may be that behind such generalisations there are entirely different mechanisms and structures that have produced them. For example, E3 and E4 may be recounted events gleaned from questionnaire or interview data about a 'them and us' split between management and the managed in the schools I have been investigating. The event E3 may have been generated by a combination of mechanisms M2, M3 and M5. We might postulate that the mechanisms generating a sense of a 'them and us' gap derive from structural problems of communication. However E4, also a gap event, is generated by the one mechanism M4 which we might postulate arises from the physical structural issue of separation by office space. The point to stress is that we can generalise about E1 to E5 in two ways, one at the level of a generally occurring empirical phenomenon or secondly in terms of the fundamental constituent properties and structures. The latter is referred to as the transfactual conditions and is established via a retroductive analysis, which is discussed further in §5.8 below.

5.3 On Critical Realist Ethnographic Writing

The first and major researcher to have written an explicit CR ethnography is Sam Porter, who provides some detail about his approach in three key articles (Porter 1991; Porter 1993; Porter 2002). All of his ethnographic research has been conducted in hospitals in Northern Ireland, where he undertook participant observation as a professional nurse. His major work has been to examine the relationships pertaining between Black and Asian doctors and White nurses in the intensive care unit of an Irish hospital. The focus of his empirical enquiry was to look at the influence of racism and professionalism on the interactions of nurses and doctors. Data was obtained through participant observation over a three-month period in 1989. Therefore the types of ethnographic data gathering tools, and the methods used for data collection, did not differ from those of conventional ethnography. So what distinguishes this as a CR ethnography? I would like to make the following observations and relate them to a CR ethnography I have been developing for research in a school setting.

- i. The Porter study concentrates on recounting the bi-directional flow of influences between structure, in the form of racism and professionalism, and human agency – the ways in which doctors' subverted racist undermining of their position and status. The focus on social structure counterbalances the tendencies of micro-sociological approaches towards a methodological individualist stance, and pre-empts the kind of disdain Van Maanen shows for 'interpretive omnipotence' and 'immaculate perception' (Van Maanen 1988). Some ethnographic writing is almost entirely about individuals from the 'native point of view', and an impression is given of the researcher always having the last word about the object under study. Critical realism, however, looks to social structures

which are relational –they involve enduring relations between the societal positions of actors –and they possess ontological depth – their existence lies behind, and effects, manifest phenomena. This is not to say that individuals’ actions and attitudes are determined by social structures. Rather, structures provide the material cause that enables or constrains action.

- ii. There is no attempt by Porter to reproduce the social situation studied, as in the tradition of thick or thin descriptions. The aim is not primarily to describe events but to explain why they occurred, in the sense of identifying the influence of structural factors on human agency. So, in the writing up of an account, transcript data is reproduced in the form of brief dialogic sections with some comments on the context taken from field notes. The ‘confessional mode’ or ‘diary disease’ that Clifford Geertz (1988: 90) has castigated is thus avoided. Instead of telling the inside story as ‘naturally’ and as ‘realistically’ as one can, a governing principle of both the investigation and subsequent report is how does the data collected uncover the relationship between agency and structure? This is also the approach that I have taken in my own qualitative research. Rather than seek to ‘reproduce the natural setting’ I have been concerned to examine the structure of the ethical beliefs of teachers as agents and the causal mechanisms that act upon both structure and agency.

One method of doing this is to conduct a retroductive analysis. This is the process of establishing the transfactual conditions for some phenomenon, referred to previously in §5.2. The interactions observed (empirical observations of events) in the social world of the hospital – which could be an FE college – are subjected to a form of transcendental questioning such as: What properties must exist for this X to exist and to be what it is? What

are the structures and mechanisms that generate this phenomenon? This is a mode of inference whereby we try to arrive at plausible models of what might be the structures and mechanisms conditioning these interactions. Once likely candidates are arrived at, ethnographic practice can be used to test the veracity of the theories presented.

So, for Porter, describing a conversation between a doctor and nurse as having racist overtones by simply referring to the motivation of the individuals involved is not enough. Theoretical work is needed to explain why individuals' interactions take the patterns that are observed. This requires the acceptance of unobservable structures that are structuring but not determining social interactions. To establish what these structures are he raised the (transcendental) question: What properties must exist for there to be racism between doctors and nurses? What properties exist to make this racism of the type that it is?

To apply this to my own study of ethical beliefs of teachers under managerialism we can ask the question: What conditions must exist for particular beliefs to be held and sustained by teachers?

- iii. Porter contrasts his study with a similar one conducted previously by Hughes, who followed an interactionist-interpretive approach (Hughes 1988). For Hughes manifestations of racism were seen to occur overtly, whereas for Porter they are covert. The difference, Porter explains, has to do with the inadequacy of Hughes' explanatory model. The interactionist approach requires that there is a constant conjunction of events displaying a regularity of racist attitudes. But this cannot explain racism as an enduring set of social relations. What is missing is the recognition of generative structures of racism that pre-exists the individuals who become

situated in them, and may well outlast them albeit in modified forms. This is not to say that individuals are determined by the structural relations into which they are assigned, but that they are either enabled or constrained by the structures towards certain courses of action. As Bhaskar (1989: 3-4) explains:

The existence of social structure is a necessary condition for any human activity. Society provides the means, media, rules and resources for everything we do. Far from it being the case that, in Mrs Thatcher's dictum, society does not exist, the existence of society is a transcendently necessary condition for any intentional act at all. It is the unmotivated condition for all our motivated productions. We do not create society – the error of voluntarism. But the structures which pre-exist us are only reproduced or transformed in our everyday activities; thus society does not exist independently of human agency – the error of reification. The social world is reproduced or transformed in daily life.

Thus racism can be seen as a tendency at the level of the real that is actualised in certain circumstances, but exercised unactualised in others. Daily activities may reproduce the same structures, but they are dependent on actors' conceptions, who may transform them. To claim persistence of structures over time and space is to indicate ontological depth, something that Hughes' study lacks.

In a schooling context we may hypothesise that a relatively enduring structure is an ethic of care and collegiality. This structure of course cannot be perceived but only identified through an examination of its effects. (To be is not to just be something to see, but to be able to do.) This structure pre-exists teachers' new to the profession and or school. Teachers' both old and new, may engage in actions that in part or whole, reproduce this

structure. But it may be that the imposition of managerialism leads teachers to change their actions, leading to the transformation of the structure.

- iv. There is a strong normative angle to this study, with the implication that abuse of power and racist beliefs should be identified in order to be removed. The ethnographic data is therefore used to illuminate these structured relations, but also to go beyond that and show how they may be oppressive and to point to the sort of actions required to make them less oppressive. Porter does not explicitly refer to explanatory critique, but is clearly working with something like it, for he cautions: 'By ignoring the possible constraining nature of social structures, commentators are in danger of giving consent, through silence, to their oppressive effects ' (Porter 2000: 146).

A related point that Porter makes is that the usefulness of CR will rest on its ability to act as an 'underlabouring' philosophy of science. As mentioned previously this is a Lockean concept that involves 'clearing the ground a little, and removing some of the rubbish that lies in the way of knowledge'(Locke 1894). This 'clearing' of ideological ground Bhaskar (1989: vii) claims is necessary in the human sciences so as to 'illuminate and empower the project of human self-emancipation'. Therefore a step-by-step ethnographic method cannot be prescribed by CR, but the 'underlabouring' needed to situate it as a method within, and outline its uses for, the social sciences is its appropriate task.

One task then of this thesis is to develop CR qualitative research in education with ethnography as a specific objective in order to get to know about the ethical beliefs that teachers have about managerialism. This is guided by Porter's work, but is also informed by the work of previous

'critical ethnographers' in education. Tuula Gordon and her colleagues have provided a comprehensive, and thematic survey of ethnographic research in educational settings (Gordon, et al. 2001). In the section on critical ethnography they refer to the work conducted by Rachel Sharp and Anthony Green (Sharp and Green 1975), and Peter McLaren (McLaren 1986), and another with a 'critical' approach, namely Paul Willis, is mentioned under the theme of cultural studies (Willis 1977). They also make reference to two commentaries on critical ethnography in education. The first is by Gary Anderson (1989: 249), who claims that the 'overriding goal of critical ethnography is to free individuals from sources of domination and repression'. The second is by Steven Jordan and David Yeomans (1995) who want critical ethnography to be more critical of itself and argue that it should be taken a step further by producing 'really useful knowledge'. One name missing from the commentaries is the work of Phil Carspecken (1996, 2001). His work is close to CR in three ways. First, it places a methodological emphasis on social ontology, although he does not advocate a stratified kind as suggested by Bhaskar. Second, he follows closely the work of Willis which is regarded by Brewer (2000:50-51) as a critical realist. This stems from the way both implicitly incorporate rather than explicitly state an adherence to the realist focus of a reality and objectivity of material structures that can be uncovered ethnographically. Third, as an aspect of critical social science, Carspecken's work carries an emancipatory impulse but does not go as far as 'explanatory critique' where there is a drive to identify false beliefs and seek the removal of their causes. If space were available this summary of ethnography in education sets out several areas to pursue in order to develop a full-blown ethnography. However, this is not the sole concern of the thesis and instead the methodological approach was to use a range of ethnographic tools.

5.4 Methodological Procedures

Over ten months of fieldwork (November 2004 to August 2005) interviews were conducted to explore the perceptions of twenty school teachers of the ethics of the business of schooling. There were two specific groups of teachers. First, eleven teaching at a North London FE college (given the anonymous title of Station Road College) and second, nine teaching in an Inner London Catholic comprehensive school (given the anonymous title of St Anthony's). The concept of schooling I operated with was thus a wide one; it included colleges of further education which are notably marketised. The aim of the empirical research was to discover what teachers think about the ethics of running schools as if they were a business. I also set out to discover how market processes may have re-shaped ethical relations between managers and the managed, and in particular to explore the phenomenon of an emerging ethical distance between the two. It is the perspectives of classroom teachers rather than management that were systematically noted and compared. The methods of data collection were designed to be sensitive to the nature of investigating ethical relations between those implementing and pursuing managerialist practices and those teaching within this new emerging ethical regime.

5.4.1 The sample of teachers

A number of schools were approached directly about being involved in the interviews, but this proved unsuccessful. This was due largely to the pressure of workloads preventing senior management finding the time to co-ordinate meetings with willing interviewees, and also to an erroneous sense that they

personally would come under scrutiny. Instead, I made individual contact with colleagues with whom I had previously worked from two different types of education establishments, which I refer to as examples of 'schooling', and recruited them to the study. As points of contact these teachers were then able to direct me to others to recruit in a process of snowball sampling. As case studies the two 'schools' were selected as being at the different ends of the spectrum of the 'business of schooling'. The intention was not to compare and contrast differing ethical beliefs between the two, but rather to find diverse contexts in which teachers work under managerialism.

Station Road College is a popular beacon status FE college and represents both 'School as a Business' (SaB) as well as the 'Business of a School' (BoS).

St Anthony's is a Catholic school that has been through several years of special measures and is currently engaged in negotiations for a Private Finance Initiative (PFI) rebuilding programme. This is a good example of a school as a business (SaB), entering into the process of a business taking charge of running aspects of the school (BoS). The local education authority (LEA) is also run by a private company.

A sample of teachers were selected from each of these two case studies and interviewed for approximately sixty to ninety minutes. The twenty interviewees were not randomly selected and the objective was to make these teachers as diverse as possible with regard to years of teaching experience, ethnicity, gender and previous experience of the world of business. The list of subjects interviewed appears in Appendix 8. There is an initial bias towards teachers that teach my own disciplines of business and economics, as some were personal contacts and approaching them was relatively easy. But it is also the case that in teaching 'business models and theories', some of these

teachers had previously reflected on the difference between businesses and schools and had plenty of observations to make. From these contacts the sample was 'snowballed' to teachers in different disciplines and with different years of teaching experience.

These twenty teachers are considered in CR terms as individually embedded cases within a social network, and as such they help create its emergent ethical properties (See Harrison and Easton 2004; Pawson and Tilley 1997). The teachers were interviewed in their individual right, independently of, rather than being designated by, the school and as such were representatives in a personal capacity of, but not for, the school. This was ethically acceptable because it was the general context of the school and not its specifics that was of interest and the teachers were interviewed as to general ethical principles rather than the specifics of their situation. Anonymity and confidentiality of the school and teachers has been strictly observed, and the interviews employed a vignette technique so as to remove any specific or directly personal ethical concerns. This technique had been piloted in previous research conducted for the Master of Research dissertation (Vertigan 2003).

5.4.2 Research questions

The following research questions were developed from the orienting concepts that have guided the research. These concepts and the data collection procedures were drawn from CR theory. Thus in relation to schoolteachers across two different school contexts I asked the following:

- i. What ethical beliefs are emergent from the business of schooling?

- ii. What constructions do teachers make about the rights and wrongs of the business of schooling?
- iii. Which ethical system or theories do teachers employ or appeal to most in order to justify the rights and wrongs of the business of schooling?
- iv. How are teachers definitions of, and actual, practices influenced by their constructions regarding the ethics of the business of schooling?
- v. Do teachers feel that there are contradictions between the ethics of schooling and the ethics of business?
- vi. Has the pattern of professional interactions between managers and the managed as reported by teachers changed as a result of different perceptions between them over what is ethical in the business of schooling? If so in what way?
- vii. Do teachers consider that the business of schooling creates an ethical distance between managers and the managers?

5.4.3 Methods of data collection

I follow Danermark et al. (2002: 70) in taking the position 'that it is the nature of the object under study that determines what research methods are applicable, and also what knowledge claims one may have.' What then follows is a regulatory relationship in social science of "Ontology→Methodology→Social theories and practical research" (ibid.: 4).

The starting point is to make explicit one's ontology, and what is significant within CR is that the world is conceived as being differentiated, structured and stratified. Therefore, reality comprises mechanisms belonging to separate hierarchically arranged strata where each stratum is dependent on mechanisms from underlying strata. Given this ontology there is no prescription of one method of data gathering. Rather CR can be used as a meta-theory to adjudicate between methods. The following are details about ethnographic tools that were used to gather data.

5.4.3.1 Taped semi-structured interviews

Individual interviews were conducted with a sample of twenty teachers from the two case study schools. The majority of the sample responded to a personal request from me to take part but from some of these private contacts there was a snowballing of further interviewees. The aim was to interview those who already held strong beliefs about the business ethics of schooling and that there would be a variety of teaching experiences and responsibilities. The sampling procedure was opportunistic in using previous contacts and then snowballing as interviewees suggested and arranged for their colleagues to be interviewed. The aim was not to produce an overall balanced sample of teachers pro- or anti- the business involvement in schooling but rather to explore, as previously mentioned, what makes teachers moral compass spin.

The sample size of twenty was based on the practical limitations of the time and the resources needed in the overall management of the data that was generated. But there were also theoretical influences from CR that critique the positivist methodology that more data, through quantitative techniques, is better. Such an approach is to be considered ill-equipped to explore teacher's self-reflection and evaluation of the ethics in the business of schooling (see

Danermark et al. 2002). Previous studies that have investigated the impact of market relations on school life in general have involved much larger samples as set out in Appendix 9.

However, in this study, in adopting a CR framework I do not see case studies as concerned with empirical regularities; rather, as Tsoukas (1989:556) states, 'explanatory idiographic studies are epistemologically valid because they are concerned with the clarification of structures and their associated generative mechanisms, which have been contingently capable of producing the observed phenomenon'. What is crucial is to explain the conditions that are sustaining or transforming the ethical beliefs of teachers. This is the object of study and the procedure of sampling, and the size and the balance of the sample, is arranged in accordance with this in mind. This is an exploratory study, and is not testing hypotheses. It is not intent on establishing the proportional representativeness of teachers' ethical beliefs but rather elicit the structure of beliefs and in particular ascertain what makes a teachers' moral compass spin.

The interviews employed a vignette technique where a range of ethical issues relating to the business of schooling was presented to the interviewee and they were asked to consider their position on the matter. The aim was to uncover the ethical beliefs of teachers, to identify the stance they adopt about ethical issues and to begin to map out the ethical regimes within schooling. I do not claim to offer a definitive account of such regimes but rather open up a necessary investigation into the 'lay normativity' of managerialism in a school setting.

5.4.3.2 Observation

I left the inner London school in the year 2000, and had some part-time teaching at the FE college from 2004. In the case of the FE college this gave me considerable access to hearing and taking part in discussions about the college and management policy. Thus comments made by the managed about management could be verified against my own personal observations or cross-referenced with observations made during work. This afforded me the status akin to participant-observer, interviewing former colleagues at the secondary school, colleagues at the FE college as well as people with whom I knew by association. Ethnographic notes were not systematically made and used as data, but critical events that could be supported with documentary evidence were gathered and fed into analysing the data.

5.4.3.3 Documentation analysis

This category includes school promotional brochures, staff handbooks, staff bulletins, and staff notice board circulars, including e-mails. All relevant documents were screened for evidence of the levels of awareness and the utilisation of ethical theories in staff social relations and management policy and practices. Secondly, documents were screened for any evidence of critical incidents that may or may not have been the subject of ethical deliberations by the staff. For example, for both the secondary school and the FE college I had copies of Ofsted reports and could cross reference comments made by the teachers about their Ofsted experience. Another more specific example is the FE college's student code of conduct and contract. The code presents an individualistic rights base approach which teachers would refer to in

discussions of extra lessons (v4) or cinema adverts (v5). But this was a document that could be challenged in terms of the absence of a communitarian ethic which some teachers felt should prevail in a 'community FE college'.

5.5 A Discussion Concerning the Central Research Question

The central research question was shaped and informed by my existing understanding of the business of schooling and familiarity with CR theory. This prior knowledge, when reflected upon and summarised, justifies certain conceptual abstractions, and I want to provide below a number of reasons why a particular wording has been so formulated. As Danermark et al. (2002: 42) explain:

An abstract concept, or an abstraction, is something which is formed when we – albeit in thought – separate or isolate one particular aspect of a concrete object or phenomenon; and what we abstract from is all the other aspects possessed by concrete phenomenon. Abstraction is necessary, because the domain of the actual- the events of the world – make up such a tremendously diversified and heterogeneous dimension of reality.

Furthermore, Layder (1998: 101) identifies 'orienting' concepts as the initial means of arranging the collection and analysing of data and then the subsequent development of theory. These concepts may be drawn from extant theory, both general and substantive, or from conventional terminology. They are considered to be provisional and may well be replaced during the process of data analysis. But their purpose is 'to produce an additive or incremental effect on one's conceptual and theoretical thinking' and is 'connected to the initial need to crank-start the process and also to establish some terms of

reference for the further elaboration of theoretical ideas' (ibid.: 129). The central research question comprises:

What (new) ethical beliefs are emergent from the business of schooling?

To take each of these words in turn I shall explain some of the rationale of how the question has been formulated.

'What [...]' The question starts with the assumption that a new ethical regime has been developing.

'(new) [...]' The starting point is the 1988 Education Act and the introduction in 1992 of the Local Management of Schools (LMS) or financial devolution. There needs to be caution about taking 1988 as the watershed for everything in policy and falling into the 'golden ageism' of the pre-1988 years (See Ball 2006b:18). One conceptualisation of the 'new' is to consider Archer's morphogenetic theory in which specific attention is drawn to the temporal sequence of the interplay between the powers of structures, culture and agents (Archer 1995). An analytical distinction is made that the 'new' emerges from social structures which in time precede actions. One cannot change or maintain something that does not exist, and so structure must come first. These structures set down the conditions that will either enable or constrain agents. By the actions of agents the structures will either be reproduced or transformed, and in the case of the latter this is structural elaboration. This framework is depicted in the Figure 5.3 below.

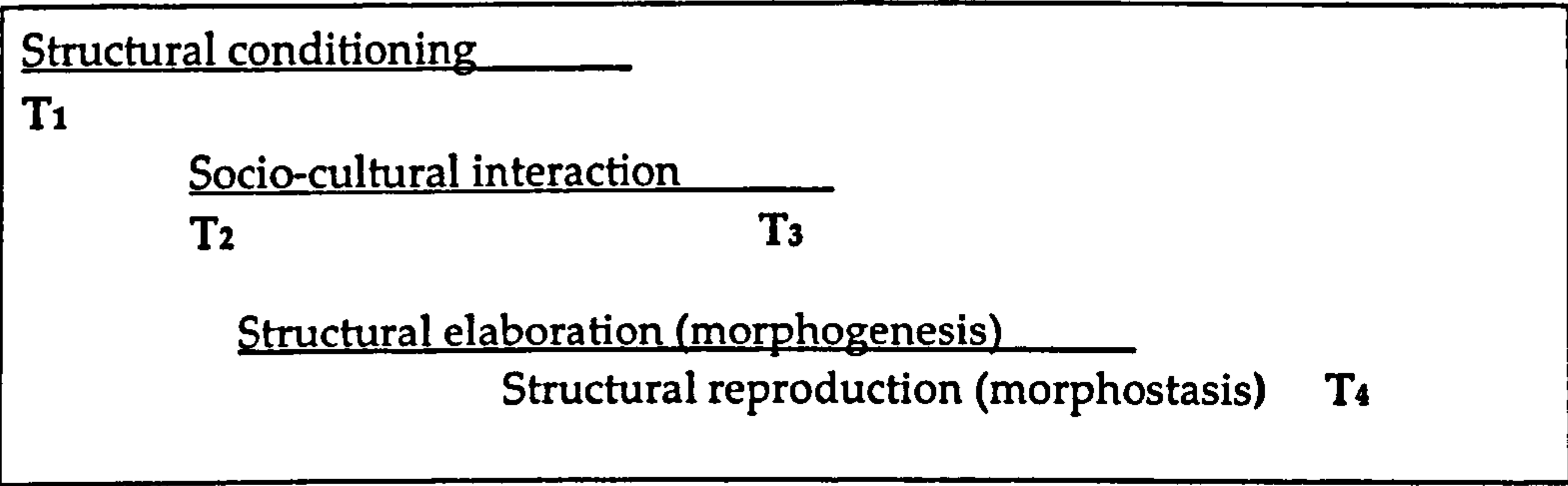


Figure 5.3. The place of social conditioning in Archers' morphogenetic approach (Archer 1995 p157)

At T1 structures emerge from a prior cycle and act as pre-existing structures that govern subsequent social interaction. At T2 agents find themselves interacting with, and governed by, these pre-existing structures, which may either enable or constrain them. A process of production is initiated and between T2 and T3 the pre-existing structures undergo change, which is completed by T4 where structures are reproduced (i.e. morphostasis occurs) or transformed (i.e. morphogenesis occurs). At T4 a new cycle starts. Therefore, the introduction of LMS and the interaction with these structures corresponds with T2 to T3 . This study sets out to examine the new ethical beliefs that emerge.

'ethical [...] 'Ethics is considered here to be a subset of values. It is taken to be a philosophical study of morality. The ethical sets out to examine the practical moral question of 'what ought to be done here and now', but within a broader more systematic and theoretical perspective.

'beliefs [...] This term is chosen in preference to 'attitudes' or 'perceptions', for a variety of reasons informed by CR.

- i. Beliefs are caused and have their causes. Whilst CR sees the need for interpretive or hermeneutic methods to investigate the social world in terms of its meanings for people, it is also preoccupied with causal explanations. The structural and cultural change of managerialism may cause new ethical beliefs, which in turn give rise to new ethical practices, that is, new ethical beliefs may be emergent from new practices. But establishing the ethical beliefs of teachers in certain contexts of the business of schooling is also the starting point for offering an explanation of why they occur. As Sayer (2000: 17) explains: 'Meaning has to be understood, it cannot be measured or counted, and hence there is always an interpretive or hermeneutic element in social science'. The object of this study is to explore how teachers understand the business ethics of schooling. Their beliefs are interpreted alongside different ethical typologies drawn from business ethics. What is of interest is the conditions that sustain and reproduce teachers' ethical beliefs, rather than seeing them as split off from previous times and practices.
- ii. Beliefs have a discursive force which CR acknowledges. They may also be true or false; Foucault has referred to different ethical systems as 'regimes of truth'. A critical aspect of 'critical' realism is that critique is intrinsic to social science. There is little point to generating social scientific knowledge 'if it does not at least offer the possibility of some kind of social improvement, even if it doesn't go beyond enlightenment and reduction of illusion to material change' (Sayer 2000:159). Thus, within CR, as adumbrated in §2.3.2, a model of explanatory critique has been developed in which false beliefs should be identified, recognised as a source of a particular form of domination, judged negatively as a source of illusion or oppression and then suggesting actions to remove their sources. This

model has limitations which Sayer has outlined, but as it places beliefs at its centre and refuses to by-pass difficult normative issues, I wish to incorporate some of its elements in this project. Ethical beliefs are about what one ought to do or ought to be the case, but how might we judge the truth or falsity of their claims? One concept used by Sayer is that of 'practical adequacy'. As he explains, that 'a theory is practically adequate in relation to one set of practices and questions does not mean it will be similarly adequate with reference to another set' (Sayer 2000: 43). So we might ask how practically adequate are the ethical beliefs of teachers concerning the business of schooling?

iii. Following on from this, and referring back to the notion of causality, structures of ethical beliefs may either enable or constrain agents. A constraining case might be the effects of ideology or discourse (as reproduced and disseminated by policy making and policy talk). Ideological discursive formations carry more force than attitudes or perceptions as such.

iv. Beliefs also form part of what Archer terms the Cultural System (CS), which the two analytical distinctions she uses for analysing the unified concept of culture (Archer 1989). The other is Socio-Cultural life (S-C). The former depicts culture as a repository of beliefs, values, and symbols which social agents draw on. The latter is the actions of agents engaging in cultural activity. As she explains 'the CS/S-C distinction therefore maps onto that between culture without a knowing subject and culture with a knowing subject' (Archer 1989: xviii). One benefit of this analytical distinction is that it allows for the real possibility that beliefs which may be interrelated can also be incompatible. In a critique of Parsonian functionalism she explains how interdependent beliefs may contain

elements of contradictions. This provides considerable analytical purchase in understanding how different teachers from within the same school cultural context may hold contradictory ethical beliefs. This was the subject of the study conducted by Willmott (2002).

- v. The technique of vignettes are used to elicit ethical beliefs and this is discussed in detail below in §5.7. But I would like clarify further the role of the vignettes in terms of structure and agency. First, the vignettes embody assumptions about changes in the structures of school following changes in policy. All of these scenarios are at the level of the possible as distinct from the actual. Second, teachers are asked to respond to these possible structures. Some teachers acknowledge their actualisation, whilst others may engage in their actualisation at a later time period. That is some teachers as agents act in structures that are similar or the same as those in the vignettes or may go on to act in a similar or a different range of structures. Third, this can be represented using Figure 5.3 above. At T₁ there is a pre-existing structure of ethical beliefs that will govern subsequent interaction with the structures depicted in the vignettes. At T₂ teachers find themselves interacting with, and are governed by these pre-existing structures which undergo change to T₃ and are completed at T₄. These are ethical beliefs that emerge. But the important point to note is that I am not attempting to prove they are at the level of the actual. They are possible beliefs and it would require further qualitative analysis to establish their instantiation at the level of the actual. What the vignettes do is serve to bring out the structure of beliefs in response to possible structures.

'ethical beliefs [...]' This study is not concerned with measuring ethical beliefs along a stage theory of moral development as outlined by Kohlberg (1981). Some business ethics texts have advocated a process of testing the stage of moral development of employees and then implementing strategies to overcome perceived deficits (See Guerrette 1994). The concern of this study is not to measure the *level* of moral thoughtfulness or ethical knowledge, but rather the *pattern* of ethical reasoning that predominates when the business of schooling is scrutinised. There is no intention to position teachers somewhere on Kohlberg's six-level scale. Operationally this is problematic, but a principal objection is that Kohlberg's schema emphasises a rights perspective which interprets morality in terms of individuality, rules, and rights. In contrast to this, Gilligan (1987) has argued for a care perspective which interprets morality in terms of personal relationships, responsibility and care. This study sets out to explore these and other types of ethical reasoning and does not prejudge which ethical system does or should predominate.

It is concerned instead to understand in general terms ethical beliefs by focusing on:

- i. whether a teacher in a school will recognise within the business context of schooling the moral nature of an ethically ambiguous situation (moral awareness);
- ii. in what ways a teacher decides on what is right or wrong (moral judgement); and
- iii. what values are given priority over other values (establishing moral intent).

These are the first three steps in Rest's (1986) four-step model of ethical decision making which is depicted in Figure 5.4 below:

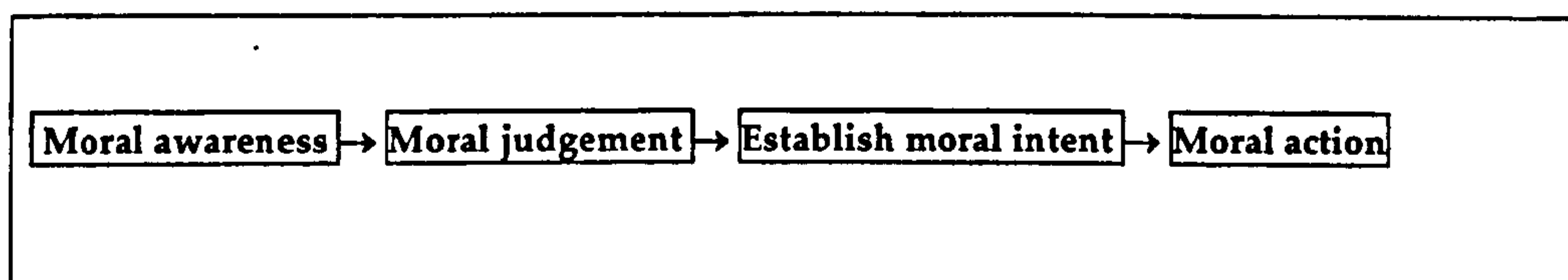


Figure 5.4. *A model of the moral decision making process (Rest 1986)*

The fourth step is to engage in moral action, and this involves following through on moral intention with moral behaviour, something which is not a concern of this study. Rather, the prime focus is to understand the ways in which teachers are interpreting the ethical dilemmas that the business of schooling presents. Again, this is not to measure the degree of awareness or to identify precisely the issues to which they appear to be most attentive, but rather, to explore what are the 'ethical beliefs' that they utilise, when presented with moral dilemmas, to account for any unease they may have about these issues. Any reference to 'moral action' will be hypothetical in terms of asking teachers what they might do in a situation rather than what they have actually done in the past, unless raised or presented by them. In short, the approach is to concentrate on the second step and ask teachers: 'How do you judge this issue?'

It may well be that teachers are not aware or sensitive to particular issues, in which case a question that follows is: 'What is it that promotes or hinders an individual teacher's moral awareness of the business of schooling?' This again is not directly the focus of attention in this study. Any moral issue recognition is said to be influenced by 'moral intensity' and is something that will be touched upon in §6.2. In the data analysis a more complex process of

categorising responses to ethical issues will be applied using a business ethics framework developed by Fisher and Rice (1999).

'are emergent [...] The use of the term emergence again draws on CR theory. Danermark et al. (2002: 205) define emergence as: 'The appearance of something new; objects composed of other objects so that new structures, powers and mechanisms have appeared.' What is a central feature of emergent properties is their irreducibility. As Carter and New (2004: 7) explain: 'They are more than the sum of their constituents, since they are a product of their combination, and as such are able to modify these constituents.' Further as Sawyer (2005:2) explains, ' Philosophers of science, who have been concerned with emergence for almost a century, refer to properties of system components as being "lower-level properties" and to emergent properties of the entire system as "higher- level properties." Building on previous research (Ball 1994; Gewirtz 2002; Gewirtz, et al. 1995; Thrupp 1999; Willmott 2002; Woods, et al. 1998), this study explores how the implementation of market relations and managerialist practices are mechanisms that generate emergent ethical regimes. This raises the issue of teleological causality, i.e. 'these ways require these ethics', and this is a concern in the background to the data analysis. Another is whether the outcome is, in Bhaskar's (1993:50) terms, 'macroscopically, a new type of structure, or microscopically a token'. But the main emphasis from the wording 'are emergent' is that of an ongoing process rather than an end product. This is highlighted in the data analysis by using a distinction from DCR to distinguish four ontological moments of beliefs. Another facet of 'are emergent' is the reported 'distance' between managers and the managed. This is a feature of postmodern ethics, according to Bauman (1993: 125), who applies the term 'adiaphorisation' to describe the process of rendering a subject morally indifferent or neutral. That there is distance is accepted and

the task is to uncover the mechanisms generating and sustaining this phenomenon.

'from the business of schooling'. Ball (1994: 67) makes the distinction between the *'business of education* rather than education as *business*'. The former encompasses private sector business involvement in educational enterprise. Companies may in whole or part operate schools or provide specialist services for them for which the return of profit would be expected. The latter, refers to on the one hand the utilisation of private sector business practices to manage public sector non-profit making schools. This is often expressed in the term managerialism which downplays the autonomy of professional expertise in favour of managers' technical knowledge. The alleged benefits of managerial knowledge is that it is pseudo-scientific and morally neutral.

To embrace this distinction, the business of schools (BoS) and schools as businesses (SaB), I use the term *'business of schooling'*. The major focus however is on managing schools as if they were a business. This is more widespread, and has become more entrenched since 1992.

'business' This refers to the provision of a good or service for profit. It is this essential aspect of profit making that is taken to distinguish the difference between *'business'* and *'schooling'*. But there are other differences which have been discussed at length in Chapter Four and will be returned to in the data analysis in Chapter Seven. A point to note is that this study does not take the view, traceable back to Aristotle, that business per se is bad. Rather the position that is taken in this study is that the activities of schooling and business are incommensurable. Managing schools *'as if'* they were a business

can be taken as a metaphor, as in the case of 'schools as businesses' the pursuit of profit is not yet a reality.

'schooling' This term can carry some unfortunate connotations. One common association is that of 'transmission'. Corralled in school buildings, children receive the knowledge transmitted to them by teachers that is 'schooling'. For as Schostak (2002: 193) declares, 'Schooling has always been the antidote to education, a pacifying of the masses.' But these pessimistic overtones are not to be given credence in this research question. It is used here to convey a deliberate antithesis to business. For good or bad the boundaries of schooling are readily identifiable. The term also encompasses both primary and secondary schools, although the emphasis is on the latter, largely because economies of scale have accentuated managerialist processes in this sector. Some attention will be given to further education colleges on the grounds that much of their activity involves students of 'schooling age' and this will soon to be increased. But also of interest is that FE colleges are educational institutions that have moved the furthest along the market model.

5.6 Interviewing Principles: The Realist Interview

The major method of data collection, as outlined in §5.4.3, is that of semi-structured interviews. In this section I discuss some of the theoretical positions I adopt towards interviewing. First, I discuss my approach towards interview data. Then I outline the view expressed by Pawson and Tilley (1997) that 'realist' interviews should be theory-driven. Following this, I link these ideas to the use of the vignette technique, which is then explained at length in the §5.7.

5.6.1 *What are the approaches to interview data?*

Kvale (1996) uses two metaphors for the research interviewer as either a miner or a traveller. In the miner metaphor, which encompasses the traditional assumptions of how to gather objective data, the interviewer is seen as excavating nuggets of facts. These precious facts and meanings are then 'purified by transcribing them from the oral to the written mode' (ibid.: 3-4). In contrast, the traveller metaphor sees the interviewer as on a journey from which he or she will return with stories to tell, having engaged in conversations with those encountered along the way. As Holstein and Gubrium (1997: 114) argue, both parties to the interview are 'necessarily and ineluctably active' and 'participation in an interview involves meaning-making work'. Subjects are not simply passive vessels of answers, yielding up uncontaminated pieces of information if only the interviewer adheres to rule-book procedures that guarantee validity and reliability. Rather, the subject behind the respondent is active in constructively adding to and taking away from the facts and details of the experiences he or she holds. What is said (substantive information) and how it is said (construction of meaning) are interrelated and the analysis of the interview should also concentrate on 'what circumstances condition the meaning-making process'.

Fine (1994) has neatly summarised the ways interviewers try to relate to subjects as 'working the hyphen' between self-other. For the realist interviewer a continued reflexive awareness is paramount. As Bhaskar (1989b: 47) explains, social researchers are indeed 'part of their own field of enquiry', and 'there is a relational tie between the development of knowledge and the development of the object of knowledge'. So to use Kvale's metaphors the

notion of 'mining' in CR terms translates as one of searching for the ontological structures and mechanisms that generate any empirical phenomenon under observation; whilst that of 'travelling' relates to the realist acceptance of epistemological relativism and social constructionism between the interviewer and the interviewee and vice versa.

5.6.2 Adopting a realist theory-driven interview

'Who am I talking to? Why is he talking to me? How am I required to express myself? What is he going to do with what I say?' These four questions are used by Littlejohn (1988) to summarise the interviewee's questions, that is the construction of the interviewer by the interviewee. These questions, he argues, can constrain the interview process. This is a matter to which Pawson has given considerable attention, and he explains: 'The realist model has a unique tack on such "hypothesis seeking" behaviour. The aim is not to try to minimise it (as in the structured approach), or try to avoid it (as in the unstructured approach), but to channel it' (Pawson and Tilley 1997: 167).

The recommendation made by Pawson and Tilley is that the interviewer should attempt to play a more active role in '*teaching* the overall conceptual structure of the investigation to the subject' (ibid.: 167). Such a view clearly subverts the 'mining' concept of interviewing, but it also questions the 'traveller' metaphor. Any sense of the researcher and subject symmetrically 'travelling' or 'constructing knowledge' together is undone by their emphatic rejection that '*the subject and the subject matter of the interview are one and the same thing*' (ibid.: 155). Instead, it is the researchers' theory that is the subject matter of the interview and rather than concentrating on capturing the subject's thoughts and deeds, the emphasis should be on whether the data generated 'captures correctly those aspects of the subjects' understanding

which are relevant to the researchers' theory' (ibid.: 164). The position of Pawson and Tilley, therefore, is that the interview should be theory, rather than data, driven and they argue that, *'the subject (stakeholder) is there to confirm, to falsify and, above all, to refine that theory'* (ibid.: 155).

Concurring with this position, something more needs to be said about the 'theory' that drives this research project and not just the interviews. Rather than positivist 'mining' for ethical beliefs, this study utilises realist theory to explore the hypothesis that new ethical beliefs are emerging following the business of schooling. The empirical work that follows does not involve being an empiricist but rather is informed by a realist conception that there are underlying mechanisms that generate empirical phenomena, triggered in certain contexts and particular time periods.

Writing about the evaluation of social programmes Pawson and Tilley employ the theoretical framework of Context-Mechanisms-Outcomes (C-M-O) for their analysis. Thus to decide whether a programme 'works', for example a prisoners' educational course or the naming and shaming of schools through national league tables, the evaluation method is to identify the underlying mechanisms (M), which can be conceived of as the resources (material, cognitive or emotional) that might be expected to influence the subjects actions. Whether this mechanism is actually triggered depends on context (C) and it is a realist proposition that *'the relationship between causal mechanisms and their effects is not fixed but contingent.'* (ibid.: 69) For example, there are an increasing number of graduates, but this does not provide the desired social advancement for all, as the appropriate context of an economic expansion is not in place in order to match those qualified with occupational opportunities.

Thus the outcomes (O) in this case may be 'certificate inflation' and an overqualified workforce. So we can say that there are a diverse range of impacts from the 'programme' of increased university access and this is referred to as the outcome pattern. It is the job of the programme evaluator to identify those contexts that have produced a positive outcome from those contexts that have induced failure.

A clear assumption is that the balance of expertise in the realm of generative mechanisms will lie with the subject to be interviewed and that this needs to be explored. However, in a structured interview the researcher's conceptual scheme is imposed upon the flow of information. As Pawson and Tilley(1997: 157) explain: 'Set questions and predetermined response categories offer little opportunity to question, or even understand, the researcher's theoretical framework, with the result that the subject's own ideas may be misunderstood'.

Furthermore, when it comes to an unstructured interview, where some mutual understanding is expected to emerge via an in-depth exchange of ideas, the researchers' theory is still not on view to the respondent. So throughout the course of the interview the respondent will be pondering the four questions that appeared above: Who am I talking to? Why is he talking to me? How am I required to express myself? What is he going to do with what I say? Then from the massive flow of information gathered, it is the researcher that selects fragments and then orders them according to the researchers' preferred explanatory framework.

To overcome these problems raised above the suggestion is that the interview be led by theory. As a result this will bring into focus two important aspects of data collection, namely (i) *the teacher-learner function* and (ii) *the conceptual*

refinement function. As mentioned previously, this means channelling the hypothesis seeking behaviour of the respondent, and this requires putting the subject into the position where they think: *'Yes, I understand the general theoretical ground you are exploring, this makes your concepts clear to me, and applying them to me gives the following answer'* (ibid.: 167).

The key objective then becomes a case of allowing the respondents to 'deliver their thoughts on their own thinking in the context of, and (perhaps) as a correction to, the researchers' own theory' (ibid.: 168) So throughout the interview there is a dialogic *'I'll show-you-my-theory-if-you'll-show-me-yours, 'strategy'*, which aims at allowing mutual understanding to emerge. Thus the flow in interview questioning is about positing theories and ideas, seeking their clarification and cross checking understandings. It is not about probing with 'open' or 'closed' questions ways of eliciting the 'right' or 'wrong' answers or nuggets of information.

Wengraf (2001) criticises this realist approach as being too 'heavily structured' and inappropriate, as it imposes the conceptual world of the researcher onto the responses of the interviewee. In addition he considers that it fails to resolve the perennial gap between 'theory' and 'informant' language. In both of these cursory comments Wengraf does not appear to appreciate that the interviewer is not 'adapting the informant's language and concepts' but is aiming for mutual understanding to emerge (Wengraf 2001: 68-69). A central focus of the interview therefore is to allow the respondent to think: *'This is how you have depicted the potential structure of my thinking, but in my experience of those circumstances, it happened like this'* (Pawson and Tilley 1997: 169).

As such this positions the respondent within a process of engaging with the researcher's theory rather than being a passive recipient, as Wengraf suggests.

It also eases the tension over 'being asked to talk about *oneself* whilst clearly being the subject of *someone else's* inquiry', as the interviewer preoccupied with context provides the details of 'those circumstances' which the subject discusses (ibid. 168). This logic of the interview is of particular relevance when, as a teacher turned researcher, I find myself interviewing former colleagues. Rather than expressly 'mining' or 'travelling' with one's fellow teachers, I hold that the interviews create 'a situation in which the theoretical postulates and conceptual structures under investigation are open for inspection in a way that allows the respondent to make an informed and critical contribution to them' (ibid.: 182).

However, for this degree of collaboration a considerable amount of structuring is required and it is this to which Wengraf objects. But given that this is a collaboration of educators in an educational setting, this is not a case of 'making the informant learn the language (the conceptual framework) of the researcher' (Wengraf 2001: 69).

The major aspect of structuring the interview is in the use of vignettes. These are short hypothetical scenarios which are presented to the interviewee, who is then invited to say what the people involved in the scenario would do, or what they themselves would do in that situation (see Appendix 1). These are particularly useful, and Arthur and Nazroo (2003:129-130) have argued for their use in asking questions in ethically and morally sensitive situations. But, as Pawson suggests, both context and theoretical parameters are easily 'smuggled' into the interview via the use of vignettes.

5.7 The Vignette Technique: Some Observations

The use of vignettes is well suited to the teacher–learner function and conceptual refinement process as outlined by Pawson and Tilley. Presented with a set of short fictional or ‘borrowed’ descriptions about ethical concerns in the business of schooling, the teacher–learner function comes in as the interviewer and interviewee test out their ethical theories as to whether these ‘stories’ are morally acceptable or not. Unlike a structured interview which puts the researcher in the position of mining for nuggets of information, the use of vignettes sets out an invitation to respondents to deliberate on specific issues and then explain why they might hold a particular belief. This provides an excellent opportunity to set up a flow of understanding between interviewer and interviewee in the manner of *‘here’s my theory, what’s yours?’* (Pawson and Tilley 1997: 173). Furthermore, by offering some context in vignettes, respondents are able to tackle a specific issue and refine their own conceptual thinking in the process. So my first justification for adopting the vignette method is that it fits in well with the concept of a realist interview. But there are further pros and cons which I discuss in the next section.

5.7.1 Vignettes: pros and cons

A major benefit of using vignettes is that they overcome the problem of the direct and crude questioning that arise with conventional attitude measurement scales in the form of questionnaires. For example, ‘Do you agree, disagree, or don’t know, about business processes in schools’, is both more abstract and is devoid of the context than a vignette depicting an

imagined scenario of an ethical problem can provide. So with a vignette an interviewee is drawn into judging the moral issues in a situation-specific setting. This is more meaningful than computing questionnaire percentage responses, as it acknowledges by design that beliefs or values are not held in a vacuum but will be influenced by social settings. As Finch (1987: 105) points out, it is a major mistake to approach attitude measurements on the assumption 'that there is some underlying fixed structure of beliefs which researchers can gain access to if they ask enough of the right kinds of questions'. As soon as a questionnaire respondent replies that 'it all depends', it is clear that some context is needed and this is precisely what vignettes set out to offer.

A further advantage is that a story line can be composed that raises important principles but maintains a distance between the personal circumstances of the teachers and what may be currently topical issues. It is certainly more problematic for instance for a teacher to comment on the ethics of issues close to their own school, than if asked to make a judgement on behalf of other teachers or for themselves as if they were in a certain situation. Thus, by projecting oneself into another situation one is able to avoid offering comment on what might be sensitive issues in one's own context. For example, consider the following vignette:

"Teachers in the Grange school have been instructed by the Edulike Company not to put posters up on their classroom walls because it may damage them. As a teacher in that school would you think this is fair or unfair?"

A direct question such as 'have you encountered a directive from an educational company that you might be uncomfortable with?' requires that

the teacher must be in a school where this can happen, can think up an example and then is willing to bring it out into the open. In some cases this may be tantamount to whistle blowing, which is not a research problem as confidentiality is respected, but it is difficult to set up an expectation or an invitation that this should happen in the interview. But to provide context removes the personal element which may be threatening and the need for prior experience. Instead it offers a way of eliciting from teachers their beliefs on public norms and principles. The use of imaginary names like 'Grange' school and 'Edulike' company rather than real names, also removes the need for a commentary on what might be a current controversial news item. For example, Jarvis has changed the name of its educational division to Cocentra Services in order to remove associations with previous adverse publicity.

The use of invented names and the very limited detail presents the context of moral problem but leaves a degree of ambiguity and 'fuzziness'. This is to ensure that the vignette technique does not follow a too directed approach . Instead it provides the respondent with an opportunity to interpret the context and 'fill in' their own ideas and issues about the moral issue raised. However, the process of 'filling in' renders it difficult to know what triggers the respondent's specific beliefs about the issue. For example if more detail is provided, such as 'Grange school is an inner city school' or 'Edulike is an engineering company' or 'put up posters with blu-tac', then these cues may trigger a particular response. But this potential difficulty can be turned into an advantage if the vignette is developed by adding more detail at later stages. By doing so the various elements that might influence responses are controlled for systematically as more information is added. So after presenting the briefest of detail more information is added at stage two, e.g. Edulike is an American engineering company, then more at stage three and so on. This method can also employ a time dimension for each successive stage,

in which the circumstances of the relationships between the school, company and teachers can be evolving. For example, at stage three it might be added to the story that: 'A peripatetic a music teacher has been disciplined for the use of blu-tac. If you were in the school how might you feel about this happening to a colleague? Explain your answer.' This routine of varying the relationships as well as elements, introduces considerations of how changing circumstances influences one's moral outlook and also tests the points at which ones own beliefs may be stretched. It thus provides an opportunity to highlight the boundaries in people's beliefs and the contingencies by which they adhere to them. In CR terms this is identifying the context that triggers the mechanism of particular ethical beliefs.

One possibility of making generalisations to a wider population stems from the consistency of reactions that are made to the same vignette by different teachers. For example being admonished for using blu-tac is for most teachers a hypothetical situation, but confronted with this issue, any consistency in the pattern of response from different teachers will form the basis of any possible generalisations. As there is a common basis for discussion, fairly complex issues can be explored with teachers from a variety of backgrounds and experience. However, one problem of adding on, or building up, additional material is that it makes the vignette more complicated and puts more demands on the interviewee. This and further limitations will now be examined.

More and more context, unfortunately, may only serve to confuse or make it hard to identify what triggers the interviewees' responses. As extra elements are added, the thread of the story line may lose its coherence and consistency, and as a result become unbelievable and difficult to follow. Controlling elements, to establish trigger points, then becomes redundant.

Allied to this is that with more detail respondents are more likely to consider they have to give a 'right answer'. Indeed there is always the danger that interviewees will give what they think is the most socially acceptable answer, and please the interviewer as best as possible. But a 'growing story line' may convey the notion that a 'right and perhaps happy resolution' is to be found at the end of the detail. In some cases it is arguable that interviewees may not be concerned about 'right or wrong' answers because the vignettes are fictional and therefore no costs are involved with whatever answers are provided. If the stories were real and localised then teachers would be under greater pressure to respond in a more involved and possibly more authentic manner. This leads on to an underlying problem of a potential gap existing between the beliefs and actions of the respondents. As 'distance' between the subject matter and personal context is a design of the vignette technique, the normative principles that the teachers then articulate do not necessarily have to be acted upon by them. Interviewees are required to consider what they believe 'ought' to be the case, but it may be that they do not or cannot pursue actions consistent with these beliefs. The reasons why such a position might ensue is of great interest and subsequent interviews might provide scope to explore this phenomenon. Clearly, predicting teacher behaviour from vignettes is not a possibility, if one held such a positivistic aim.

5.8 The Analysis of the Interview Data Using the Crinson Schema

First, I want to offer a few words of caution about any claim to find or be using a 'CR method of qualitative data analysis.' Danermark et al. (2002: 150) have explained, 'Believing that critical realism can be applied unambiguously in practical research would, however be a misconception. Critical realism is not a method.' Therefore, Danermark et al. explain that CR empirical research

needs to be designed and conducted according to 'the nature of the object under study' (ibid.: p70). As such, this rules out any notion of a universal method, except in the broad sense of a non-positivistic unity of method as a retroductive-analogical movement from manifest phenomena to underlying causes, and it rules in the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods – which is a distinction that is considered irrelevant in CR, where there is a preference for the terms intensive and extensive research (See Danermark, et al. 2002: 161; Sayer 1992: 241). It also rules in the use of multi-methodological approaches guided by what Danermark et al. discuss as the 'ontological-methodological link.' This, they explain, means establishing the ontological base of the research, which involves making explicit, one's conception of the reality under study. Then one can proceed to select the appropriate methods for the investigation of this reality. This methodological pluralism should also extend to the analysis of data, but this has received little attention with the exception of the proposed schema by Crinson (2001), who examines the discourse of Accident and Emergency (A&E) nurses. His analytical framework is a CR refinement of what are recognisable elements from different analytical techniques. Therefore, Crinson comments briefly on coding issues from grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990), analytic induction as advocated by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) and Coffey and Atkinson (1996) and a process of deriving data wide propositions as advocated by Frankland and Bloor (1999), as well as orthodox hermeneutical approaches. His discussion draws out the shortfalls in these methods, and then argues, following Bhaskar (1989a), for a 'depth realism' that will move the analysis beyond a description of 'the existing states of affairs and events' to a 'non-actualist' search for causes and effects (Crinson 2001: 7). This 'depth realism' directs the interpretation of the interview data beyond a stage where most analyses stop. Instead of ending at the typical stage of abstracting themes or conceptual categories, this then becomes a first stage in the process

of retroduction. The analytical schema adapted from Crinson is produced in Figure 5.5 below.

(i) Transcriptions	(ii) Indexing	(iii) Interpretation	(iv) Theorisation	(v) Retroduction
Taken from Interviews using the eight vignettes	Non-exclusive coding of Interview data Multiple and varied coding	Abstraction of conceptual 'schemes.' Analytically Induced through an Interpretative understanding of Indexed data	Conceptual categories derived from sets of specified deductive frameworks applied to Identified theme	of concrete conceptualisation. Postulated through a process of synthesis or retroduction. Which identifies the necessary rather than contingent causal relationships or mechanisms which are the condition for the generation of the social phenomenon under Investigation

Figure 5.5. A realist analytical schema for the generation of concrete concepts from interview data (adapted from Crinson 2001: 10).

From the first stage where the data is in transcript form (column i), the analysis starts by the coding of data with a full, wide, and varied range of codes so as to avoid too narrow a selection at this stage (column ii). Crinson refers to focus group data and stipulates that contradictions from participants will not be precluded at this stage and this was considered to also apply to the teachers in this study who were commenting on the same eight vignettes. From this stage the ‘issues and ideas are then interpretatively abstracted into themes or conceptual categories’ (column iii) (ibid.: 11).

The analysis was conducted in two rounds. The first ended with the production of four core summary themes which were (i) Beliefs about

incommensurability between schools and business practices, (ii) Articulated ethical principles used to evaluate the vignettes, (iii) Distance from management, and (iv) Preoccupations with performativity. These four themes were used to organise the views of the first group of ten teachers, but Crinson (2001: 11) explains that this is an unsatisfactory level at which to stop the analysis:

while it could be said to represent a reality from the phenomenological perspective because it is rooted in the actual discourses/‘practical logic’ of the respondents, [it] is, from a depth realist perspective, merely examining the ‘domain of the actual.’ An actualist analysis cannot establish the hidden dynamics of the multi-relational stratified nature of shared discourse.

Therefore, the next stage that Crinson discusses (column iv) refers to the process of making expressed links with theoretical literature: ‘the next level in the analytical schema is concerned to establish those theoretically deduced categories drawn from the literature (moving from the abstract to the concrete) which might offer a structural context for the particular discourses’ (ibid.: 11)

But the intention in my own study is to use theory in a process of ‘conceptualisation’ rather than as an ‘ordering framework’. This distinction is made by Sayer (1992: 50) who emphasises that the common role of theory in the social sciences is to employ it as a ‘filing system’. But ordering events or phenomena in models is, Sayer argues, of secondary importance in CR. Instead, what is important is ‘to theorise means to prescribe a particular way of conceptualising something (Sayer 1992: 50).’ Conceptualising is a process of abstracting and isolating fundamental features from what constitutes concrete objects such as teachers, students, schools, Ofsted, and so on. Abstractions need not be considered as vague or less real, for example ‘managerial

distance', the 'trickle down effect' of management post-Ofsted bonuses, or 'core-periphery staffing.' Conceptualisations are more than labelling empirical categories and in these three examples they highlight mechanisms that no other concepts have distinguished. Of course, 'trickle down' is a metaphor, and there has been some discussion about how metaphors build on analogies and convey meanings from one thing to another; it is very instructive to examine the metaphors used by the teachers (See Lewis 1999; Lopez 2003). Like abstractions, metaphors are a way of defining certain aspects of a phenomenon. So this fourth stage of the analysis calls for specific attention to how we divide reality through our conceptualisations, and to the fact that these in turn provide deeper insights into and stronger explanatory power in relation to that reality. It was in the second round of analysis that all twenty transcripts were analysed along the lines of Crinson's fourth stage, and here dialectical conceptualisations became important. Throughout the data teachers were making dialectical comparisons between schools and businesses, their relations with management, as well as holding dialectical ethical stances, in the sense of pointing to interrelatedness as well as separateness and indicating contradictory elements. Accordingly, this round of analysis engaged explicitly with Bhaskar's (1993: 180) theoretical work on dialectic, which, as a method 'depends upon the art of thinking the coincidence of distinctions and connections'. Aporias and antinomies were constantly expressed by the teachers about aspects of the vignettes. Dialectic is a means of arriving at ways of resolving them, as it acts 'as the great "loosener", permitting empirical "open-texture" [...] and structural fluidity and interconnectedness' (ibid.: 44).

Turning to the final stage, column (v), this is the point at which we need to consider how we are to identify these structures, generative mechanisms and emergent properties. The mechanisms surrounding 'league tables' or 'Ofsted

inspections' are unlikely to manifest themselves in terms of the regularities that positivist researchers might expect, as these phenomena exist in open systems. It is not possible to seal off schools or colleges or the education system hermetically in order to gain experimental closure. The technique of retroduction, as discussed in §5.3, offers a way of addressing this methodological problem. What properties must exist for e.g. managerialism or managerial distance (X) to exist and to be what X is? Or, more briefly, what makes X possible? In Crinson's schema, the retroduction stage is concluded with two postulated generative mechanisms, namely nursing ideology and competing sets of demands on the work of A&E departments. These two mechanisms identify causation occasioned by changes in the NHS on the expectations of nurses. Whilst causality is important to the present study, the focus is primarily on identifying and exploring the nature of ethical beliefs rather than attempting to explain their origins and effects causally. One area of causality that is given considerable attention is the development of an understanding of the conditions for these beliefs, that is, what preserves them, prevents them from withering away or being split off. But it is not the intention of the data analysis to present a systematic account of the mechanisms of their origins and persistence, in the manner recommended by, e.g., Wuisman (2005). Rather, the mechanisms I am above all interested in are teacher ethical beliefs, which, when acted upon, are causes.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a method for a CR qualitative analysis with a particular focus on ethnography. The method that has been set out is designed to address the central research question: *'What (new) ethical beliefs are emergent from the business of schooling?'* In order to explore sensitive ethical

issues with a sample of twenty teachers, a set of vignettes were used to generate discussion. The construction of these vignettes and their role in a 'realist' interview was discussed. How the interviews were conducted as a central ethnographic tool along CR lines was also discussed, and then the process of analysis outlined. In the next three chapters the data analysis is presented in detail. This concludes the second part of the thesis which acts as a bridge between the three main parts of the thesis. In the first part CR was used as a meta-theory to evaluate the theoretical underpinnings of critical policy analysis and the ethical literature on schools. In the second part CR has been used to evaluate the practicalities of conducting qualitative research and part three then continues with the method of analysis that has been outlined. Part one called for a reinstatement of 'lay normativity' and part two outlined how this was to be done and part three sets out how it can be mapped. In part one the vignettes were introduced as theoretical examples of ethical dilemmas in schooling and the reader will have reflected on whether they caused their own moral compass to spin. Part two explains the design behind the vignettes and part three shows their effects on the teachers with which the reader may compare their own responses.

Part II

Bringing Dialectical Critical Realism to Qualitative Data Analysis

Chapter 6

Data Analysis

Mapping Emergent Ethical Beliefs

6.1 Introduction

The principal aim of this chapter is to map out the ethical beliefs of the twenty teachers who took part in an interview to discuss the eight vignettes. There are two mapping typologies that will be used which are taken from the business ethics literature. The first takes up the theme of dialectics and charts the prevalent ethical stances that the teachers adopt in relation to each of the vignettes (Fisher and Lovell 2003). The second plots the salient features of the dominant moral ethos of schooling as espoused in the teacher commentaries on the vignettes (Snell 1993). These two typologies are used to achieve the first of the four aims of this chapter, namely:

- i. To make a substantive contribution to understanding the ethical regime of schools as businesses and map out what ethical beliefs are emergent from the business of schooling.
- ii. To take critical policy analysis into the realm of ethics and construct a version of CR policy analysis.
- iii. To use creatively concepts from DCR in a qualitative data analysis.
- iv. To conceptualise this data analysis and the overall research project in the framework of the 'lay normativity' (Sayer 2005) of teachers as operating within the Understanding-Dialectic-Reason (U-D-R) schema as discussed by Bhaskar (1993) and employed by Schostak (2002).

To briefly outline these last three aims.

ii. The components of a CR policy analysis focuses on the interplay of teacher agency and educational structures within a stratified and differentiated open systems ontology. It operates within a framework of explanatory critique (Bhaskar 1986), which forms the basis of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: Ch 4). With the rejection of the fact/value split, it follows that policy can be analysed in terms of ethics. Two recurring ethical themes that emerge from this analysis of the data is policy as 'autonomy reducing' and 'integrity denying'.

iii. The central focus of this chapter is to make a contribution to the development of a CR approach to qualitative data analysis. To move to Bhaskar's dialectical work is to go further than introductory texts in CR and beyond what has been incorporated into educational research, with the

exception of Shipway (2002) and Schostak (2002). As Benton and Craib (2001:119) advise, 'However, Bhaskar's more recent development of an ambitious "dialectical" philosophy and engagement with eastern philosophies take us beyond the scope of this introductory book' and both Danermark et al. (2002) and Carter and New (2004) make no reference to Bhaskar's dialectic in their texts. Sayer (2000: 170) acknowledges the dialectical turn in CR but in a footnote expresses dismay at the 'Niagara of neologisms' he finds in Bhaskar's dialectical writing, and indeed this is echoed by Collier (1998b: 694). It would be mistaken to propose a finished 'CR method' and then stop reflecting on developing the categories and concepts one has used. This chapter starts the work of illustrating how DCR concepts can be applied in data analysis. Furthermore, DCR is being used as a systematic theory capable, in virtue of its systematicity, of grappling with the complex and messy aspects of the ethics and business of schooling at this point in history. For example, in mapping the ethical beliefs of teachers, which considers their ethical being within schooling, we proceed in the data analysis by interpreting the commentaries in terms of the four DCR stadia of 1M, 2E, 3L, 4D, or the MELD schema. This schema is designed to express the main dimensions of being or the causal-axiological chain (the concrete universal↔singular, see glossary Appendix 19), in very broad terms as follows:

1M: being as such or as a structure, where it is non-identical to what it structures;

2E: being as process or change, as creation and re-creation or emergence;

3L: being as totalising, or shaping or binding into a whole;

4D: being as incorporating intentional human agency or making.

This four-sided dialectic is used to grasp the complexity and momentum of the ethical beliefs articulated in the interviews, and the transcript commentaries are refracted through these four lenses. Whilst the schema is not meant to be applied mechanically, but rather treated as a cubic stretch-flow, for the purposes of exposition each stadion is articulated here separately in turn. Furthermore, each stadion brings together a multiplicity of concepts (see Glossary of Terms Used in *Dialectic the Pulse of Freedom* in Appendix 19) of which only the key ones can be discussed here. The *first* or founding *moment* (1M) signifies something finished, determinate, pertaining to non-identity; here ontology is of prime consideration. This is the locale of transfactual (structural) causal powers, distinguished as being possessed as 'products', e.g. ethical beliefs and dispositions, rather than being exercised. But ethical beliefs and other causal powers are exercised in a process, and this processuality is articulated in spatio-temporal rhythemics at the *second edge* (2E). The use of the term edge suggests a point of transition or becoming. The formal principle at work here is negativity or absence, which is at the heart of all change. Thus the acquisition of an ethical belief, e.g., involves the absenting of an existing state of affairs, and acting upon it absents another. And the dialectical contradiction involved in the alterity of schools in relation to business generates a directional absenting in the ethical beliefs of teachers, as the beliefs 'travel' (rather than drift) as the contradictions are worked out. The concept of absence is the pivotal category of dialectic and it is given a prime focus in the data analysis which reveals comprehensive values being absented by market values. Indeed Bhaskar (1993:5-6) argues against the Parmenidian legacy in philosophy of 'the generation of a purely positive, complementing a purely actual, notion of reality...the doctrine of ontological monovalence' (see glossary Appendix 19). Instead he aims to revindicate negativity to the point where we should 'see the positive as a tiny, but important, ripple on the surface of a sea of negativity (See Brown 2002;

Callinicos 2006 : 196-197). This takes us to the *third level* (3L), which comprises the emergent whole with its own specific determinations, capable of reacting back on the materials from which it is formed. The congruence and/or binding role of ethical beliefs and values need to be reflected on at this level as existing within a totality of school/business values, or as a process-in-product. Here too we may discern an alienating detotalisation or split off in values, followed perhaps by a 'transformed transformative totalising praxis' (Bhaskar 1993: 42) where the split is absented and a unity-in-diversity is reconstituted. To make sense of the why, the how and the what impact of the introduction of business values in schools, expressions of alienation and/or transforming practices need to be understood holistically. Lastly, the *fourth dimension* (4D) singles out a geo-historically recent form of causality, that of human intentional causality or agency. This is the locale of the teacher commentaries, where ethical beliefs are products-in-process and intentionally exercised. This brings us to the level of practice which it must be noted occurs within a totality that is radically open. In Appendix 10 there are two tables (Table 10.1 (data extract) and Table 10.2 (commentary on the data), which taken together illustrate how the data is approached using the MELD schema. The data is drawn from Brendan's response to vignette 8 which refers to the idea of an internal market within a school.

There are several dialectics here. First, in the interview, which is conducted following the Pawson (1997) approach of theory testing, there is the interaction between Brendan and myself. There is also the interaction of Brendan with the vignette as he conducts a process of deconstructing the information. Second, in the vignette there is the dialectic between the business model of publishing and selling written materials, and the school ethos of collaboration and sharing such materials. Within schools there is the interaction between departments – English and History, Art and Drama, PE

and other departments. Approaching these comments through a DCR lens requires us to identify and then consider the operation of these dialectics. With the 1M-4D schema the focus of analysis becomes expanded rather than reduced (see Appendix 10 Table 10.2) as we move across the stadia applying relevant concepts. For example, Brendan's comments suggest ontological stratification and differentiation (1M) in his acknowledgement of structural differences between the market and the school situation. He expresses dissatisfaction that the internal market absents a certain depth and richness of social relations within the school (2E) – collegiality, sharing, collaboration, favours – which contrast unfavourably with the flatness of an actualist inter-departmental monetary transaction. Brendan considers the totality of these social relations within the school, and views an internal market as detotalising and alienating (3L). This is in contrast to irrealist (non-transcendentally realist) theory that denegates totality and the inter-relationality that exists in schools. At 3L ethical beliefs and values are processes-in-products, and Brendan understands that complications arise in their mediation. He disagrees with payment for Ofsted materials, arguing that you cannot operate a market in a 'school situation'. The actionability of paying or not paying for Ofsted materials, and the issue of autonomy it raises, becomes a point of focus (4D). Here ethical beliefs/values are products-in-process, where teachers' transformative praxis (re)produces sharing or purchasing of materials. This illustration suggests, therefore, that the concepts of DCR can be applied creatively in the data analysis. It has a range of potential benefits.

First, it provides a systematic way of grasping the business/school dialectic that a teacher such as Brendan is espousing when he declares: *"That's right, you can't operate a market on business principles in a school situation."* Second, it facilitates capturing the considerable degree of the emergent ethical beliefs in the school-business dialectic. To postulate a set of school ethics on the one

side and a set of business ethics on the other is too simplistic when both are interchanging and interacting. The subtlety of the schema is to consider ethical beliefs both as products and processually, having their being along all four dimensions of the concrete universal↔singular. We should also recognise that in managing schools as a business the different sets of ethical beliefs are co-present, and the absence or presence of one can be causally efficacious in relation to the other. At the level of 3L and totality we can conceptualise ethical beliefs becoming part of the totalities that are schools as businesses (see glossary Appendix 19). At the level of 4D the emerging ethical beliefs are embodied in a human causal agent or concrete singularity. Third, it encourages a form of depth-inquiry into why a teacher may feel uncomfortable with the issues in the vignette. In this case, what are the objections to the internal market? Working through Brendan's comments using the MELD schema suggests a number of critiques of the internal market, which are summarised in Table 10.2 in Appendix 10. Fourth, and following on, the objections given by Brendan are reasons which may be causes, and focussing on the four modes or levels of causality keeps the analysis oriented towards explanation rather than just description. As Bhaskar (1993: 240) summarises: 'To cause is to change is to absent is to transform and so redetermine'. The 'selling' of Ofsted materials absents the sharing of collegiality, so transforming the totality of social relations within the school.

iv. The final aim of this chapter is to reflect on the activity of data analysis in terms of the Understanding-Dialectic-Reason (U-D-R) schema. This Hegelian schema, as adapted by Bhaskar (1993: 29) has been applied by Schostak (2002: Ch. 9) with regard to framing qualitative research.

$$\begin{array}{cc} \text{d-c} & \text{r-c} \\ U \rightarrow D \rightarrow R \end{array}$$

Where U = Understanding D= Dialectical reasoning d-c = deconstruction and r-c = reconstruction. This schema is at the heart of the Bhaskarian epistemological dialectic, incorporating dialectics of explanation and of truth. The essential movement of this dialectic, as Hartwig (2007 forthcoming: 102) explains, is 'from knowledge of manifest phenomena to a structural account of what generates them, and criticism and correction of the initial hypothesis or theory in its light', a movement that can be seen

to be one in which inconsistency (contradiction, aporia, anomaly), caused by incompleteness (some relevant conceptual or empirical absence) (2E), generates a move to greater completeness (totality) (3L) – the moment of transcendence – via the postulation and identification of causal mechanisms (1M) and the attendant reconceptualisation or transformation (transformative negation) (2E, 4D) of our theories and research programmes, and so on recursively.

While Bhaskar's elaboration of the U-D-R schema seeks to capture the logic of scientific discovery, I have employed it in the manner suggested by Schostak, namely to frame qualitative data at the level of analysis of individual transcripts as well as of project design. This may be illustrated in relation to the data from Brendan. First, the data analysis of Brendan's commentary proceeds by drawing attention to the inconsistencies that he raises through dialectical reasoning (D), concerning the relations between business and schools (U). In the extract which appears in Table 10.1 (Appendix 10) Brendan deconstructs (d-c), the ethics of the internal market as presented in the vignette information (v8b). Second, at the level of my overall project, the aim is to explore the contradictions, aporias, and anomalies that are felt to exist in the managing of schools as businesses and move towards a 'greater

completeness' of understanding by identifying emergent ethical beliefs as inner mechanisms of theory and practice relating to managerialism.

Schostak (2002: 194) discusses the construction of expert knowledge whose authority can inhibit 'the powers of critique and challenge if these arise outside the legitimated frameworks of critique'. It may be necessary to reformulate such authoritative knowledge according to 'a rationality that can grow from the contradictions employing dialectical reasoning (D), finding resolutions at a 'higher level'; or a reason that creates a paradigm shift so that all is seen new-born under some more powerful vision' (R) (ibid.: 198). But the process of deconstruction (d-c) and reconstruction (r-c) may be inhibited. (These stand in for dc' [dialectical comment] and dr' [dialectical reason or the principle of rational totality], respectively, in the CR epistemological dialectic.) Knowledge of a problem in our understanding (U) may be repressed which then reduces change to various forms of 'criminal' or 'terrorist' action. Alternatively, it can be alleged that our understanding (U) has become corrupted and a back to basics move will bring things back to normal. Any attempt to reveal that the 'founding illusions of reality are arbitrary, false, shaky, insubstantial, can be terrifying' (ibid.: 198) and those who challenge this 'are likely to be persecuted or treated as mad or bad by those who hold on for dear life to their founding beliefs and frameworks for knowing the "truth", the "real", the "good".' Therefore, it is recognised in the data analysis that the vignettes act as a vehicle for the teachers to engage in dialectical reasoning (D) towards (R) as well as the whole research project. Throughout the analysis it is born in mind that understandings (U) may be nostalgic, with feelings for the 'good old days' before managerialism, and that repressive action such as 'back to basics' may be at work to return to normal (U); but also that the teachers and the project at large are challenging the understanding (U) in terms of ethical beliefs, through processes of

deconstruction (d-c) and that this demands 'some kind of dialectical reasoning (D) that plays on the tensions, the contradictions, the anomalies in order to formulate reconstructions that are not reproductions of what has gone before but which generate the possibility of grounding a new way of reasoning about the world. Here reason (R) is not reducible to the Reason of previous orders but is essentially a blank space, an x in some formula waiting to find a value' (ibid.: 206). Present throughout the data analysis is a focus on how the teachers are deconstructing and reconstructing the ethical climate of schools as a business as a new 'rational totality' (R).

Schostak's exposition of the U-D-R schema outlines Bhaskar's finesse on the Hegelian dialectic. This incorporates transforms which designate the qualitative change that is affected via imaginative quantum leaps or transitions from U to D to R. However, a more systematic coverage is provided by Norrie (2004: 232) who contrasts the three dialectical moments of Hegel and Derrida with Bhaskar's four, which he summarises as:

$$U \rightarrow D \rightarrow S+E \rightarrow P$$

Here U = Understanding, D = negative Dialectical critique, S = (CR) informed Social Science, E = dialectical Ethics and P = Praxis. What this elaboration brings out is that, applied in the sociosphere, the U-D-R schema insists on a focus on the social and historical context that is preliminary to ethical and practical issues. Norrie explains Bhaskar's dialectic in terms of the conceptions of the legal subject and does so by discussing the TMSA and entity relationism. To relate this to Brendan's commentary above. The TMSA addresses the agency-structure problem as a two-way process in which 'social structure is a necessary condition for, and medium of, intentional agency' but intentional agency is also 'in turn a necessary condition for the reproduction

or transformation of social forms' (Bhaskar 1993: 154). The internal market is a structure that Brendan considers wrong and if caught in such a context "*I would not agree with buying the stuff. You give it, yes.*" Brendan wants his intentional agency not to reproduce this structure but give over Ofsted materials free of charge. The TMSA is linked with entity relationism by Norrie (2004: 233) in the following way:

The dialectical quality of being-in-structure means that human life should be seen as a social and relational 'flow, differentiated into analytically discrete moments' with each moment seen as 'subject to multiple and conflicting determinations and mediations' (Bhaskar 1993: 233). The primary category in this social flow of individual being is that of dialectical connection. This describes a situation in which 'entities' or aspects of a totality [...] are in principle distinct but inseparable, in the sense that they are internally related, i.e. both [...] existentially presuppose the other(s)' Bhaskar (1993: 58). The domain of dialectical connection is one in which there is the existential constitution, or permeation, of one social entity by another.

Brendan understands the distinctiveness and inseparability of pricing and charging by businesses, and that a school can engage in external sales yet not become a complete business. Again a school can internally conduct sales between departments, such that '[n]ow "whatever is" is intrinsically at the same time not itself, but something else' (Norrie 2004: 234). However, Brendan sees the practice of selling resources across departments as a threat to the ethic of collegiality, possibly entraining a transformation of the whole ethos of a school. As Norrie explains: 'Identity presupposes non-identity so that any sense of identity presupposes incompleteness and change. Identity is an abstraction from a process or set of processes of formation so that it is always "under threat" from what appears as different, but is in fact part of it, and from change, which leads an entity to become something other than it is'. Therefore, in the analysis of Brendan's commentary and all the other

transcripts, dialectical thinking (i) is observed in the discussions, (ii) is applied to the substance of what is recounted, (iii) is considered in the researcher–researched relation, and (iv) is situated as a method in exploring the relations between business and schools.

6.2 Charting the Prevalent Ethical Stances that the Teachers Adopt in Relation to Each of the Vignettes

The typology of eight ethical stances presented here comes directly from business ethics, drawing on the work of Fisher and Rice (1999) and Fisher and Lovell (2003). Concerned to understand how managers ‘manage messy moral problems’, these authors have devised several frameworks for analysing interview data. One principal framework maps out the differing perceptions that managers may have on the ethical issues they are confronted with. These are classified into eight categories which are suggestive of the range of possible responses and ways of thinking that can be taken about an ethical issue, and can usefully be translated into the context of teachers or the managed. They are:

- i. Ethical neutrality;
- ii. Ethical awareness and reaction;
- iii. Ethical convention;
- iv. Ethical puzzle;
- v. Ethical problem;
- vi. Ethical dilemma;
- vii. Ethical cynicism and caprice
- viii. Ethical negotiation.

Before deploying these in detail, something needs to be mentioned of how they have been applied within another framework used to analyse interview data about ethical issues. Fisher and Lovell (2003: 151-2) devised a conceptual framework which they used to analyse critical ethical incidents as recounted by twenty six accountancy staff and seventeen human resource specialists. These incidents were not prepared vignettes but in response to an invitation to raise any recent issues that had caused the respondents to become uneasy or feel an 'ethical twinge' or place their 'moral compass in a spin' during the course of their work. These concerns were then analysed in terms of four processes:

- i. the action the respondent did or said;
- ii. what caused the respondent's conscience to become uneasy;
- iii. what the respondent thinks should be done or said; and
- iv. what the respondent thought the views of others involved with the issue were.

This is depicted in Figure 6.1 below.

Conscience What does the interviewee think is wrong about the issue?	Ethical Reasoning What does the interviewee think should be said or done in the given circumstances?
Options for Action What is the basis of the interviewee's speech and actions?	The Expectations of Others (Stakeholders) What does the interviewee think is the basis of others' speech and action

Figure 6.1. Analysis of an ethical issue (adapted from (Fisher and Lovell 2003: ch 5)

This model is very useful, especially from a CR perspective as it emphasises ethical reasoning as a process which is 'unstructured, dialogic and emergent' (Fisher 1999:236). 'Unstructured' conveys that many ethical issues can be seen as shapeless and ambiguous, and that a discrete set of options cannot always be tidily applied. 'Dialogic' refers to an ongoing continuous argument which comprises stages of a dialectic. 'Emergent' captures the notion that the processes and practices involved in understanding and or resolving an ethical issue are a particular combination that gives rise to emergent properties. With this characterisation of ethical reasoning, Fisher asserts: 'Given such circumstances the "if a and b then c" logic of the syllogism is inapplicable (Fisher 1999: 237). Therefore in the analysis that follows of the 'ethical reasoning' as applied to the vignettes, no value judgement is made about logical clarity, a hierarchy of reasoning, or consistency across responses; what is of prime importance is the ethical stances that the teachers adopt.

The four boxes of the framework can be filled using a content analysis to analyse critical incidents, such as those raised in the vignettes. As an illustration, an analysis will be conducted of the response of Brenda to vignette eight which raises the issue of purchasing Ofsted preparation materials. Within each of these four perspectives, the eight categories of responses or stances are then varyingly applied. The overall framework of these eight categories appears in Figure 6.2 below and a more comprehensive summary provided by Fisher and Lovell is reproduced in Appendix 11 Table 11.1

Dialectic of ethical purpose

Developing principles	<i>Ethical puzzle</i>	<i>Ethical problem</i>
Achieving the common good	<i>Ethical convention</i>	<i>Ethical dilemma</i>
The obligation of duty	<i>Ethical awareness</i>	<i>Ethical cynicism and caprice</i>
Self-consciousness	<i>Ethical neutrality</i>	<i>Ethical negotiation</i>
	Personal certainty, fixed priorities and values	Personal dilemmas and aporias, shifting priorities and values.

Degree of ethical integrity

Figure 6.2. A Framework for Analysing the Ethical Stances Adopted in Relation to the Vignettes (adapted from (Fisher and Lovell 2003:Ch 5)

The horizontal axis of the diagram depicts the 'degree of ethical integrity'. On the left-hand column a person sees moral issues in a clear and straightforward way (high integrity), which helps them to know what should be done in a situation or how an issue should be analysed and resolved. For example, all of the teachers were clear and emphatic that naming and shaming is wrong (v7) as it goes against the ethical conventions that aim to promote a common good. On the right column, however, there is some uncertainty and confusion (low integrity). On this side of the scale a person is likely to be in a situation of axiological indeterminacy or a problematic (dilemmatic and aporetic) axiological choice situation, unsure of what to do or think because of the complexity of the issue. Resolving an issue will be felt difficult to achieve due

to the plurality of views and positions on an issue. For example, nearly all teachers experienced unresolved dilemmas and aporias about blowing the whistle in relation to the budget deficit (v8 c).

The vertical axis represents the dialectical development of ethical purpose, drawn from Hegel's (1964) *Phenomenology of Mind*. It starts with self-consciousness, where a person sees their moral universe as a personal one. But demands are placed on the person and this isolation, as well as an indifference to these demands, cannot be sustained. For example, several teachers expressed a strong reservation about 'getting involved' in a vote of no confidence against the senior management prior to an Ofsted inspection (v2 b), preferring to remain ethically neutral or go along with the demands of the more vocal majority without articulating their own viewpoint. The next phase in the dialectic is therefore duty which arises from the negation of self-consciousness. At this stage people are required to do their duty, to students, to staff, to the school and to society at large. In this phase people act according to their obligations, because they feel they have to deontologically rather than teleologically. In doing one's duty one becomes aware that others have contrary conceptions and attitudes to what is the right duty, which may be held sincerely or cynically. In response to extra lessons for students on the C/D border, several teachers felt uncomfortable that duty might require participation, but they felt there was something anomalous about this duty. Viewed as motivated by league tables, some saw cynicism and insincerity in the imposition of this duty and explained that they would refuse to take part under such conditions, demanding instead that all students be allowed to join the classes. As a result, this dutiful approach causes confusion at another level, that of the common good for all students, as clearly some students are felt to be losing out. This search for the common good attempts to overcome the fragmentation of the previous phase and reconcile competing ethical

demands. What is pursued in this stage is done so because it is considered to benefit all, and people follow the conventional rules and norms of society, or an organisation, such as a school, because it maintains good order. This phase in the dialectic is consequentialist, and a school mission statement that declares 'the equal worth of every child' should be judged accordingly. But any consensus of common ethical convention and the route towards achieving the common good threatens to dissolve into dilemmas as one set of rules and conventions often clashes with another. Therefore, in the next stage of the dialectic, reason and categorisation are brought to bear in devising principles to respond to the plurality and fragmentation of the moral world. The difficulty in defining the common good causes people to reflect on their own values and then derive a set of efficacious principles for solving their own ethical dilemmas. These deontological values are self-validated principles rather than the reflexive intuitions that characterise the 'duty' of an earlier stage. For example, in a criticism of the peripheralisation of the learning support staff (v3), one teacher argued managers made these cost-cutting decisions because they had abnegated their ethic of care. He explained that their lack of concern or even negligence towards students meant that there was no common room available for students, who resorted to smoking out on the street:

Alex: You see my philosophy is that managers don't provide a duty of care. They don't. To me a student come into the college [...] now a lot of them smoke and you see them outside [...] it doesn't look good, it makes me wonder what the hell are the management doing?

Sean: People making those decisions then should be operating at that level. Why can't they operate at that level?

Alex: Because it's not their problem. Their problem is getting in the number of students, 'bums on seats'. That's what they are looking at. They don't care about the student.

To provide a common room would cost, just as additional learning support (ALS) teachers costs, and Alex argues that this principle negates the principle or duty of care. But in terms of promoting the common good, both for the students in the college as well as creating a favourable impression outside the college, the cost principle is considered by Alex to be too narrow a view. The derogatory terms 'bums on seats' as well as the often used 'bean counting' convey two concerns. First, that the social ontology of students is ignored in favour of a concept of homogenised units. Second, that this ethical issue is treated by management as a puzzle. The moral framework presented is that of costs, and the correct solution to the puzzle, ignoring contrary values and perspectives, is one of addressing costs. In contrast, Alex considers this as an ethical problem, where there are many different values and principles, separate from costs, that managers should debate. This top cell of the column represents, therefore, attempts to develop personal principles for dealing with ethical questions. Alex, as with several other teachers responding to this vignette, became despondent that all too often the 'mantra of costs' reduces complex ethical problems into simplistic puzzles.

This model is used to map out then, the range of possible reactions to a moral issue on the part of the managed and retains a processual perspective, as the varying stances can be analysed in terms of an ongoing debate. Before providing a fuller illustration of how the data is analysed there are four observations to make about the benefits of applying this framework. First, this processual aspect means that it becomes possible to pay attention to the

transitions that are made across the categories. The movement up the left-hand side of the diagram signifies increasing sophistication and greater self-awareness. But as Fisher and Rice (1999: 323) argue, 'as the understanding of an issue becomes ever more complex, and analysts become aware of the plurality and incommensurability of the values involved, they travel down the right-hand side of the diagram that is characterised by confusion and, eventually, abdication.' What this framework is sensitive to is that people can change their categorisation of an issue over time as they think more about it or discuss it with others. Indeed in the duration of an interview the respondents can move backwards as well as forwards around the categories and may eventually stick with a particular categorisation. This is in contrast to the teleology of other models, such as Kohlberg (1969), which outlines six stages in a linear developmental process towards the highest level of ethical reasoning. Following on from this, is that this framework is taken entirely as descriptive rather than prescriptive. No evaluation is made of what 'stage' of moral development the management and/or the managed may be at or indeed should be at. For example, the Guerrette (1994) paradigm of 'Management by Ethics' should be taken as an anathema. In this model Guerrette proposes that the moral awareness of the workforce should be measured on the Kohlberg scale and then any deficits should be rectified with 'moral awareness' training programmes. This is too mechanistic and suggests that a linear advance towards a universal set of ethics is possible. Also, in its adherence to Kohlberg's scale it becomes associated with the three main criticisms made of this model by Snell (1993: 17-27). These are (i) The model is incomplete in that it accentuates only the cognitive choice content in moral reasoning; (ii) The model's hierarchical form means that identifying 'higher' principles is possible, but how far is this culturally conditioned?; (iii) The content of the post-conventional stage of ethical reasoning has been disputed. In particular Gilligan (1987) has criticised the predominantly 'cool, detached, objective,

legalistic view' (Snell 1993: 22), of morality which she sees as inherently masculine qualities and in contrast emphasises the values of 'warmth, caring, and love', claiming these are traditionally female preoccupations. The benefit of the eight stances framework is that it acknowledges a Kantian element in the Kohlberg schema that 'higher levels or reasoning' reflect increased levels of autonomy, but does not describe a hierarchy of reasoning. Instead Lovell (2002: 62) explains: 'The categories are themselves merely mechanisms employed to explain the shifting reasoning and behaviour of the individuals concerned'.

Further, a third point that follows is that the circular movements around the stances can be questioned in terms of the concepts of absence and alethia. Something has been said about the alethic concept of truth in Chapter Three (see §3.2) and in looking at the ethical stances we can ask whether the beliefs in schools are now more plural and fragmented, rather than mutually consistent and whole? To take this further is to then question whether there is a misalignment of descriptions of ethical integrity and purpose in the transitive dimension with the ontological truth of schools.

At this point some remarks need to be made about the importance of absence and its relevance to the data analysis. The essence of Bhaskar's dialectic 'is to see the negative in the positive, the absent in the present, the ground in the figure, the periphery in the centre, the content obscured by the form, the living masked by the dead' (1993: 241). He argues the ontological primacy of absence over presence, and sees it as central to causality, and to emancipation. In MELD terms: 1M absence in the guise of alterity exists and is ontologically prior to presence; 2E changes are, or causality is, 'absentings'; 3L ills can be seen as absences which act as constraints; 4D empowered praxis is absenting agency which can remove remediable ills. What these claims mean for the

data analysis is that at 1M teachers might identify the absence of an entity such as an ethic of locality. By this means the belief that all local children near to a local school should be unconditionally admitted to that school. To say it is absent from a region might mean it is 'never anywhere' (an ethic that simply does not exist), it is 'sometimes somewhere else' (an ethic that has finite existence) or it is 'spatio-temporally distant' (meaning that it is an ethic away for now) (see Bhaskar 1993: 38-39). In the case of the head teacher arranging the new intake cohort (v1) the ethic of locality is absented or 'spatio-temporally distant'. This absenting is a change in policy, a causation 2E. As an unofficial policy this acts as a constraint on the ethic of locality on the children affected and is an ill (3L). For Bhaskar (1993: 280) any ill indicates an absence, this indicates a constraint, which may indicate a falsity in relation to basic human needs, which in turn indicates an axiological imperative to remove constraints. Emancipation is the process of absenting ills and constraints upon the free flourishing of humans, and this is the work of empowered praxis (4D). The data analysis thus focuses on what is absent rather than simply different and looks for causes in terms of what is being absented. To return to the dialectic of ethical stances, for example, in managing schools as businesses we can discern a reverse dialectic of ethical purpose working down the right-hand side. It involves first the absenting of school ethical principles, then absenting notions of the common good (a totality 3L), then further absenting the intuitive duties of teachers to reach the level of self-consciousness, where teachers feel it is 'better not to get involved' (transformative praxis 4D).

A fourth and final point is that these stances have a twofold heuristic that can be used to categorise the substance of the vignette as well as label the perspective the teacher adopts about the vignette. For example, Alex accuses his own management of taking an ethical puzzle stance to the peripheralisation of learning support staff (v3), whereas he considers this as

an ethical problem. In response to a head teacher constructing a favourable cohort of students through test scores (v1), Brendan was willing to empathise with what he saw as the head's own sense of ethical neutrality or negotiation, but he himself saw this as an affront to the common good and a breach of ethical conventions. A summary of the eight stances with two examples of where teachers adopted a particular stance with a vignette can be found in Appendix 11 Table 11.2 and this can be compared with the detailed information of Fisher and Lovell's framework in Table 11.1 This is a mapping in an introductory fashion of what the stances are and how the issues in the same vignette may be viewed from a different stance by teachers. It starts the process of understanding what the most pronounced reactions to the vignettes are and the ethical beliefs that are employed to judge the issues. It demonstrates, therefore, the type of 'moral spin' without delving into the degree or cause. This is then developed by analysing the teacher responses vignette by vignette, a detailed example of which appears in Appendix 12. This maps out Brenda's views on the subject of purchasing materials in preparation for an Ofsted inspection (v8).

In general there is an acute ethical discomfort for Brenda over school departments having to compete with each other in order to perform for an Ofsted inspection. She considers it an ethical anomaly that expertise is up for sale rather than shared for the benefit of the whole school. The pursuit of external and or internal charging for expertise fragments relationships as winners and losers emerge across the entire education system as well as within the one school. This runs counter to achieving the common good, and most of Brenda's stances relate to this level of the dialectic and the level above, that of developing principles. She accepts cynically that there may be an obligation to provide a token payment for materials provided in this

'internal market', but she feels this is an inadequate solution. Instead Brenda suggests central funding by the LEA along utilitarian lines is needed:

Brenda: I feel comfortable about sharing expertise [...] and I think if you are going to do this I don't think you should be doing it as a business you – the education authority should not be allowing it to happen as a cost – you share the expertise [...] Parkhill presumably would not have been able to do this if they had not gone through an inspection [...] so there is that argument, where does the author or copyright rest?

The copyright issue is an assertion that Parkhill is capitalising on its own previous inspection by trading on the fear that is present at Grangehill or any other schools soon to be inspected. The best way to resolve the divisiveness of Ofsted, accepting that inspections should continue, is therefore to have education authorities distributing resources and expertise on an equal basis, that is to level the playing field.

Part 'c' of vignette eight, which refers to the school deficit issue, presents a risk which for Brenda is too much of a 'business and finance' ethical problem rather than an educational one. To increase the deficit with expenditure on dubious inspectors is not considered justifiable. Brenda considers the ethical stance of management to be one of cynicism of the 'facadism' type, where they are seen as abnegating their own responsibilities and duties by buying in someone else's expertise:

Brenda: Some times I think you may take risks with finance [...] you've got a new leading technology that's coming that's expensive and maybe it might just about not work but it could hugely benefit people, but maybe you will take

a risk about that [...] what I feel is so [...] because we spent so much money on bringing people in and out for Ofsted.

Attempting to blow the whistle about the deficit was not seen as relevant. Firstly, as the scenario in the vignette refers to being a teacher governor, on the one hand one should keep out of trouble (ethical neutrality) and on the other respect the confidentiality of governors' meetings (ethical convention). But secondly, it was felt inconceivable that schools could hide such information, and that a general meeting to "push out and thrash out the issues" was called for where burdens were faced by the collective rather than an individual (ethical problem).

This analysis, set out in Appendix 12, demonstrates the variety of ethical stances that Brenda or any other teacher may hold over just one issue. It not only provides a way of categorising an individual's response to the particular features of the vignette, but also shows how a range of competing possible categorisations may be adopted. It is quite possible that these stances may be conflicting and changing as the respondent's debate with themselves the particulars of the vignette. As a result this analytical schema helps elucidate some of the 'inner mechanisms of thought' and in particular where ethical dilemmas are prevalent. To move from an analysis of one teacher and one vignette to all the teachers for all eight vignettes involves summarising the pattern of dominant stances and identifying any significant aporias. For Brenda the pattern of response across the vignettes was, in terms of the dialectic of ethical purpose, principally concerned with achieving the common good and developing ethical principles for the scenarios that were all too familiar in her recent experience at college. A summary of the responses appears in Appendix 13. In the third and fourth columns of the table, the issues of absence and alethia are summarised, respectively. The

vignettes that produced the greatest aporias were v1, v2, and v3. With vignettes v4, v5, v6, v7, and v8 there was a fair degree of certainty that these scenarios are wrong, in that they flout conventions, ignore obligations of duty and fail to concentrate on achieving the common good. In the case of lessons for the grade C/D border (v4), Brenda resented the way management had turned this into an ethical puzzle based on maximising league table results. Absent from such a policy is the principle of educational entitlement and a recognition of the concrete singularity of every student. The truth of things for Brenda was that you could not act in this partial way without damaging staff-student relations and that all departments needed to support each other towards achieving the best for all students. For the weekend away (v5), there was no hesitation that this practice would absent further the private life of teachers and that the fact it is over a weekend displays the truth that the 'core business' of teaching during the week should not be interrupted. In response to antagonisms around Ofsted (v2), there were three discernible stances. In relation to the aporia of what should be done, Brenda explained that she had begun to negotiate such difficulties by 'retreating'.

Brenda: I think it is about me looking at my own personal responsibilities about things [...] I do bring things down a bit now [...] I don't necessarily think I am responsible for achieving some sort of global college ideal? I bring it down [...] I have brought it right down to what I can do [...] the pressure.

Brenda considered there was an absence of trust and communication with management about achieving corporate goals. She felt it necessary to 'retreat' and let things just happen and was cynical that positive change could come from inside the organisation. She anticipated that an Ofsted inspection could act as an external catalyst to improvement. Underpinning her comments were the alethic notion that management work is 'inauthentic' and therefore

undeserving of a bonus, *"Because they cooked the bloody Ofsted on the back of the people's teaching [...], they really have [...], its other peoples' work they got it on."* What is more, she understood the reality to be: *"I realise that the people who keep these management cultures are me"*. This master–slave dialectic will be developed in Chapter 8 on the struggle for recognition and distribution (See §8.3.2). If we go through the last column on the extreme right we can start to build up a picture of what is considered to be the alethic truth of schools as organisations. This involves comparing and contrasting schools with businesses which is the substance of Chapter 7 on the dialectic of business and schools. But at this juncture it is worth noting that Brenda considers that the difficulties about these vignettes are that they absent the truth that schools should have an ethic of a commitment to the locality, an ethic of care, should involve authentic, stable relations between the managed and the management, and pursue an ethic of collegiality that recognises the interdependent social relations between school subject departments. Finally, she emphasises that *"business is business [...] education is education"*, and that the core activity of schools is teaching, which is best understood by teachers. This search for the alethic truth of schools must not be interpreted as a simple 'foundationalist' exercise. Instead it should be seen as mapping what teachers consider are the real reasons of the school as a form of social and ethical life. It is accepted, however, that differing practices from business as a spatio-temporally different and potentially contradictory form of social and ethical life can overlay these reasons – which business practices may be out of phase with the alethia of schools.

Appendix 13 shows the range of varied responses for different vignettes by the same individual. Other table constructions incorporate the varied responses across different teachers for the same vignette in an attempt to establish the most 'pronounced stance' for the vignette as well as for the

teacher. This method of aggregation, however, does not conclude the analysis as there are several questions of a retroductive character that need to be addressed. To take the example of Appendix 13 what mechanisms are generating these stances? Putting aside psychological factors such as ego strength which is the tendency to stick to ones' convictions, or cognitive factors such as those raised in the Kohlberg model, questions need to be raised concerning first, cultural, and second, situational, factors. For example, in the first case, are the mechanisms of rewards and punishments in schools as businesses influencing the stances that are adopted? In the second case, are there mechanisms reducing personal autonomy and integrity that keep the stances predominantly on the right-hand side of Figure 6.2, generating aporias and shifting priorities and values? This is not to suggest that the left-hand side stances are ethically better than the right-hand side. The left-hand side concentrates on categorisation and commonalties, whereas the right hand side emphasises particularisation and complexities. Operating in the right-hand side is uncomfortable, but is where critical reflection will be more flexible.

6.3 A plotting of the Salient Features of the Dominant Moral Ethos of Schooling as Espoused in the Commentaries on the Vignettes

The previous typology concentrated on the ethical beliefs of individual teachers, whereas this second maps out the moral ethos of organisations (Snell 1993). The eight ethical stances framework attempt to capture the individual's ethical reasoning about the issues in the vignette, that is, what is the degree and the direction of their 'moral compass spinning'. This second scheme is employed to address the question of what the moral ethos of schooling looks like after over a decade of managerialism. It was discussed earlier in this study [e.g. Chs. 2.3, 3.2, 4.3] that whilst critical policy analysis has lamented the changing ethical regime in the business of schooling, there has been no systematic coverage of the interplay between 'business ethics' and 'school ethics'. The concept of 'values drift' mapped out the transformation in 'comprehensive values' to 'market values' at the level of inter-school and parent interactions, but it does not capture the moral ethos perceived by those teaching within the school [Ch. 3]. Furthermore, the social justice audit conducted by Gewirtz (2002) has identified the 'five faces of oppression', but at the more general level of the education system. The use of this typology is to explore more closely the moral ethos at the level of social relations inside schooling. It involves imposing onto the interview data a pre-given framework of sixteen salient features of a moral ethos; this is stage four in the Crinson (2001) schema (see §5.8). But these categories are specifically linked to the coding or indexing that emerged from stage two of the Crinson schema. The sixteen categories are summarised in Figure 6.3 below.

Tightness	Tone
Deference to hierarchy	Positional abuse
Spread of trust	Dependence on allegiance
Regulatory formalisation	Adherence
Respect for dignity/integrity	Intensity of political stakes
Concentration of power	Need for stability
Breadth of constituency	Openness to criticism
Demands on loyalty	Developmental openness

Figure 6.3. The salient features of moral ethos (Snell 1993: 72)

For example, one of the sixteen features of the moral ethos of organisations identified by Snell, is ‘deference to hierarchy’ defined as ‘high when some individuals have more status than others and those members have significant prerogatives such as the right to give orders entailing major upheavals for those charged with obeying’ (ibid 74). This feature is very prominent in the discussions about a vote of no confidence during an Ofsted inspection (v2b). The indexing codes that emerged in discussions of this vignette were, for example, ‘collegial ethics’ and ‘resistance to management’; these are then linked as evidence of teacher perceptions that a ‘tight deference to hierarchy’ is a feature of managerialism. To give two further examples. First, ‘tightness’ refers to the extent that action and feeling is rigidly programmed in organisations. Discussions relating to naming and shaming (v7), as well as the Ofsted inspection (v2), provided plenty of insights into what is often viewed as a ‘very tight ethos characterised by recurring, almost compulsive, patterns of emotion and behaviour’ (Snell 1993: 73). Beliefs about such ‘tightness’ are reflected, for example, in the coding that emerged around the ethics of ‘suspicion’, ‘lack of trust in management’ ‘performativity’ and ‘management measurement methods’. Second, ‘breadth of constituency’ reflects issues of social responsibility. Broadly defined, this takes into consideration the need to

engage with a wide range of stakeholders, whereas in narrow terms it suggests 'impression management with those who matter'. A recurring code in discussions about test fixing (v1) and film adverts (v6) is the 'ethic of the local', the need to 'serve past, present and future generations' and 'the ethic of the care towards students of differing ethnic backgrounds'. However, it was repeatedly suggested in the interviews that a managerial ethos narrowed the constituency. By coupling these sixteen features to produce two axes (the left hand-side on a vertical scale and the right-hand side on the horizontal), and then plotting against the features in a four-quadrant matrix, a snapshot of a limited aspect an organisation's moral ethos can be produced. For example in Figure 6.4 below:

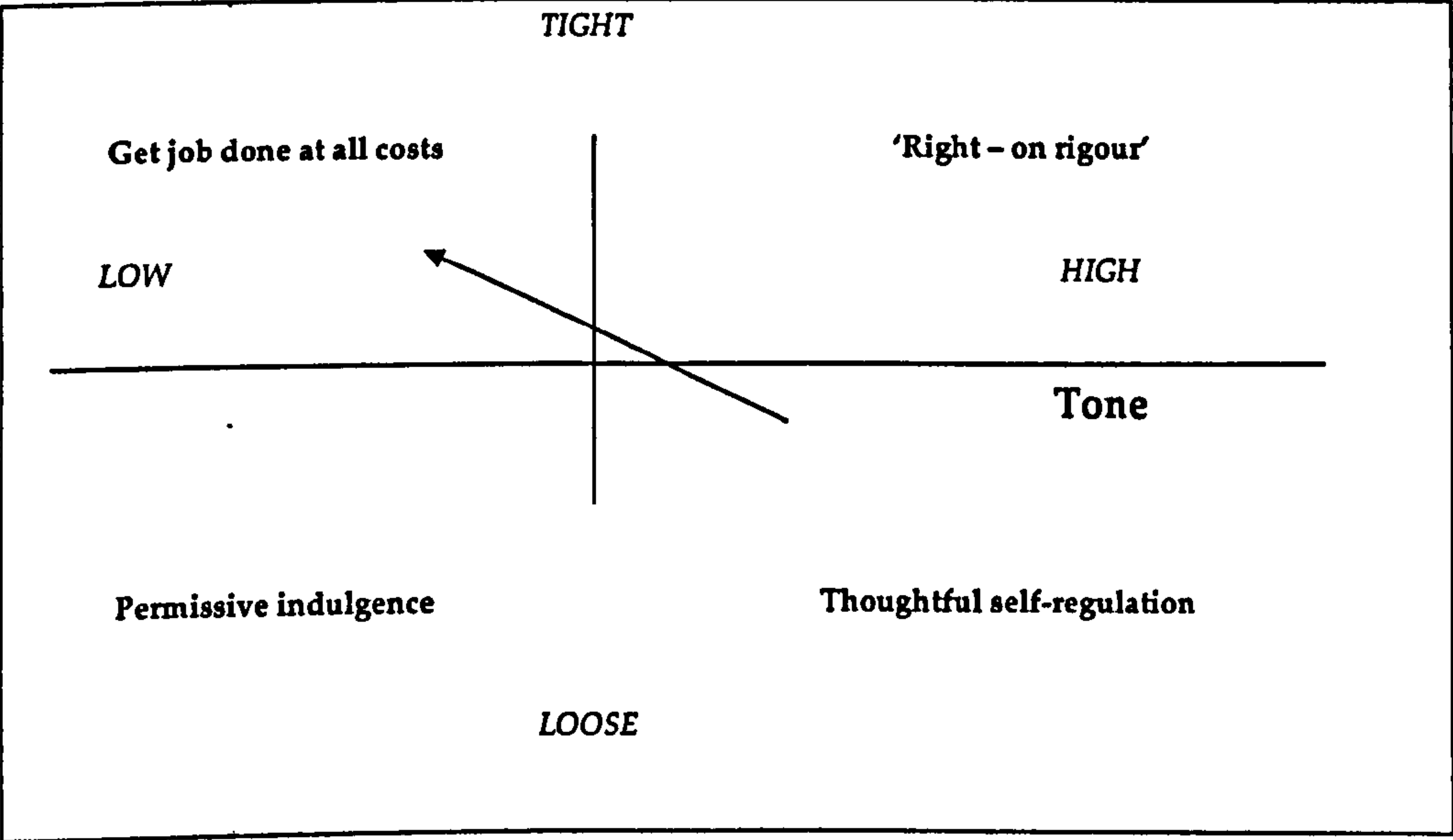


Figure 6.4. The impact of tightness and tone (Snell 1993: 74)

The general consensus from the vignette discussions was that the intensification of work under managerialism had caused the moral ethos to move in the direction of the arrow in the chart above. Namely from an ethos

of individual autonomy and collegiality to one of close scrutiny to get the job done subject to narrow performance measurement criteria. This chart is a very partial view of how two variables interact but does provide a spectrum of the different kinds of moral ethos. A summary of the characteristics from the four quadrants appears in Appendix 14. This is arranged across six stages which parallel Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning which also correspond to six types of moral ethos that could arise within organisations. These six types of moral ethos are explained in the following terms:

- i. *Fear-ridden ethos*. Behaviour that is characterised by coercion, blind obedience and a focus on getting things done for the survival of the organisation at any cost.
- ii. *Advantage-driven ethos*. Employees are rewarded for achieving the best for the organisation even if this involves being unethical. As a result this ethos encourages private alliances, secrecy and personal advantage.
- iii. *Members-only ethos*. The focus internally is on group membership and externally on creating a favourable image. The emphasis on 'fitting in' can encourage paternalism, sexism and racism.
- iv. *Regulated ethos*. This is characterised by regulations, in the form of codes and rules and accountability, in the form of performance measures.
- v. *Quality-seeking ethos*. This ethos encourages everyone to take ethical standards seriously in an ongoing dialogue and debate. People are expected to work closely and supportively.

vi. *Soul-searching ethos*. Here the emphasis is on integrity and an ongoing ethical dialogue.

Each of these stages corresponds to those of the Kohlberg model and there is an implicit suggestion that organisations should aim to reach a 'soul-searching' ethos. Indeed to achieve this end, Snell has developed a curriculum in management ethics education. It is not the intention to pursue in this thesis the arguments for such moral awareness training although it does follow on from any diagnosis of a moral ethos. This evaluative aspect of Kohlberg's model takes on a secondary role in this adaptation, in contrast to Snell whose rationale is to set out priorities for management ethics education. There are a few further comments that need to be made about the benefits and limitations of Snell's model, before conducting a systematic coverage of the sixteen categories emergent from an analysis of the interview data.

First, Snell's model relates to management decision making. Unlike many atomistic business ethics models, Snell situates managers in organisations that are pluralist, and socialised. He also sees their ethical behaviour as occurring within a moral ethos that comprises a set of force fields, 'all of which impinge on member's understandings, judgements and decisions concerning good and bad, right and wrong' (Snell 1993: 267). As a result his particular focus is that managers should be able to exercise moral judgement in complex moral situations. Therefore, in this adaptation the emphasis becomes one of how the ethical beliefs of 'the managed' are influenced by a moral ethos (influenced or produced by management), rather than how 'the managers' make decisions within a moral ethos. Second, as with many other business ethics models, there is an over-reliance on Kohlberg's stages of moral development, although Snell has done more than most to address criticism's of Kohlberg. The hierarchical nature of the model builds in an aspiration that one should

always strive towards the higher stage. His use of the term 'moral ethos' rather than 'culture' is sensitive to the dangers of diagnosing ethical deficiencies and then 'pulling levers' in a culture change programme to move the organisation up a stage. As a result there is no attempt here to be prescriptive, rather it is a mapping out to see what has emerged. This is a case of applying an ethical mapping typology used in business to that of schools managed as if there were a business. But the typology is applied, not to capture a moral ethos generated by management, but to map out the perspectives of the managed who are making judgements about their management. Third, Snell has made a clear distinction between ethical reasoning and action. Just because someone is capable of thinking at an advanced level it does not mean that this will be reflected in action. The vignettes may cause the moral compass of the teachers to spin but there is no necessity to demand action. Therefore, if the moral ethos of a school is characterised as 'advantage driven' no judgement is made as to what counter-action if any, is taken by teachers. Fourth, there are several limitations with this mapping exercise that Snell himself acknowledges. He both accepts that a moral ethos is not an all pervasive monolithic phenomenon, and that accounts of ethos from insiders presenting an acceptable face to outsiders, will raise concerns of validity. Further, the six types of ethos must be taken as 'ideal' and the sixteen dimensions cannot be expected to carry equal weight in terms of their influence in an organisation. Indeed, two dimensions that are given some prominence by Snell, as well as in the following analysis, are 'respect for dignity/integrity' and 'demands on loyalty'. These problems do not detract however from, in Snell's case providing a heuristic for informing management ethics education and applied into this study, of portraying the ethos of a school managed as if it were a business. This leads to a fifth point of examining the model through DCR concepts. In terms of absence, these

sixteen dimensions from business ethics are both a measure of what is absent in an organisation and what is being absented.

The sixteen categories, when mapped in couples as illustrated above in Figure 6.4 provide a dialectic where an organisation pinpointed in one quadrant, demonstrates the features absent from the other three quadrants. In Appendix 14, one type of ethos pinpointed presents five others that are absent and conveys absent 'styles' of management ethical reasoning, for example fear-ridden but absent soul-searching. Further, it suggests absent ethical principles in the organisation, for example principles such as autonomy, pluralism, altruism and a communal ethic tend to be absent from a regulated (stage 4) ethos. In examining these absences there then follows questions relating to whether the absenting of absences can be discerned? For example, along the dimension of 'trust and dependence on allegiance', is there an absenting of 'secretive scheming' by 'tough open debate' or is an ethos of 'friendly non-challenge' absented by 'cold tedium'? Likewise is a 'quality-seeking' ethos absented by one that is 'fear-ridden'? Or are moral principles employed by management such as justice, autonomy, pluralism absented by principles of might equals right, compliance or psychological egoism? In addition these sixteen dimensions are a detotalisation of business as well as schools. Consideration must be given to what is absent from these sixteen dimensions that are important in the ethics of schools, for example an ethic of care, the ethic of authenticity, an ethic of embeddedness and an ethic of consistency in relationships to give four examples that have emerged from the indexing stage (three of the Crinson schema) of the data analysis. This then raises the question of the alethic truth of these four ethics for schools as compared to the sixteen dimensions of business.

The summary table in Appendix 15 shows the sixteen dimensions with examples of related vignettes followed by a summary of the main arguments that arose in relation to these features. From indexing the interviews, a reference is made to the absence of an ethical principle. Dialectically set against this is a summary of what the teachers' point to as a specific problem. To take each of these dimensions in turn. A loose ethos provides individuals with the space and freedom for their own actions and feelings, and the longstanding teachers lamented that the intensification of work, with an accent on performativity, had removed much of the staffroom social interactions. This is something that Gerwitz (2002: 79) reports as 'a decline in the sociability of school life'. Having time to converse informally with both colleagues and students is understood as a necessary part of a school community ethic, not a luxury, something off-task, or a deviance. It was widely felt that horizontal social relations were being subverted by the tightness and tone of 'performativity measures' under managerialism, and this would not be rectified by weekends away. The impact of performativity is discussed further in Chapter Eight, but one of its most excessive expressions is seen in 'naming and shaming' (v7). The objection to such a 'tone' centred on several aspects: (i) That it was unsupportive and failed to address what may be a training issue. (ii) It added further unnecessary anguish to the dismay that would already exist about poor results. (iii) It was behaviour from management that would be unethical in the conduct of a classroom. (iv) That it held individuals to account for performance that of necessity would be variable, and could not be simply reduced to the responsibility of one person. The 'tone' of individual accountability and absence of 'shared responsibility' was felt to be exploitative. As June suggested: *"Also it depends on [...] there are so many other variables. The year group, how many teachers they had, how many staff changes, whether they had a supply, there may be lots of different reasons."*

Deference to hierarchy is explained by Snell (1993: 74) as 'high when some individuals have more status than others and those members have significant prerogatives, such as the right to give orders entailing major upheavals for those charged with obeying'. This was felt most acutely in the monitoring leading up to, and during, an Ofsted inspection, where deference would be extended to outsiders. Significant discomfort arose in discussing vignette two and a strong 'deference to hierarchy' made a vote of no confidence an unlikely event. Deliberations over whether to dissent also rested on attitudes to 'positional abuse' and where it was felt to be high this was a justification to break collegiality and openly criticise the management. Collegiality is expressed in horizontal terms rather than vertical. It is not seen as binding all teachers to all objections against management, but it is an understanding that a fixed hierarchical deference exists between management and the managed and that this prevents collegial relations between them. This was felt to endure outside the establishment including a weekend away (v5). As Earl commented in the deliberations over a vote of no confidence (v2b):

Earl: Yes, grassing up the management? You can over do the collegiate spirit and sometimes you get Flightpath school versus the rest. Sometimes it can be a very artificial collegiate spirit, which may be hiding serious issues. I would not want to see collegiate spirit as above and beyond everything.

Ball (1994:62) has discussed how the managed see their identity objectified by the management as a set of performativity measures (threshold payments, performance management appraisal systems, exam results, and league tables),

and these take precedence over subjective interpersonal relations. He explains further that 'professionalism is replaced by accountability, collegiality by costing and surveillance. These are forms of power which are realised and reproduced through social interaction, within the everyday life of institutions' (ibid.: 64).

Positional abuse is high when power is used largely for personal advantage or to harm others. This was clearly identified in the case of management awarding themselves a bonus (v2c) and in naming and shaming (v7). The absence of a principle of equity was felt to be most shocking in the case of the bonus award, and a further example of controlling resources for personal advantage. Several pointed out that Ofsted inspections became a bonanza time when previously hard to get teaching resources suddenly became available. One process of maintaining distance is to keep control over resources, but with the instrumental purpose of 'getting a good inspection result' temporary management generosity only served to reinforce a sense of positional abuse during 'normal times'. Discussions over vignette two also illustrate a prevailing absence of trust. This is at all three levels as described by Bottery (2004:112-116) (See §8.2.2 and Appendix 16). At the macro- there is disdain for the Ofsted 'game' and league tables, at the meso- there is dissatisfaction with management schemes to implement changes, and at the micro- the persistent 'them-and-us' attitude keeps the managed on their guard. One incident that illustrates the lack of trust across these levels was for Jason to be warned by a senior manager during the preparation for Ofsted: *'Don't shoot yourself in the foot'*, to which he replied: *'No, I am shooting you in the foot'*. Here there is a lack of trust at the macro-level such that a government policy of inspection equates almost to a firing squad. At the meso-level there is the distrust that adverse inspection findings of any kind will collectively have a detrimental effect on all in the institution; at the micro-level the

managed and the management do not trust each other to refrain from 'shooting' blame. The manager's comment is an appeal for allegiance, and has connotations of an ethos of 'secretive scheming' that is characteristic of 'low spread of trust, combined with high dependence on allegiance' (Snell 1993: 76). This same aspect was also raised with the proposal to set up film adverts as screen-savers (v6). Here the scheme was variously dismissed as a *"dodgy-deal"* (John) or *"dishonesty is a very strong word, the pressure on you is immense [...] I think a lot of these scenarios are that we are here to make income and I think the balance has gone the other way"* (Susan).

Underpinning the dimensions of trust and allegiance as well as the next two dimensions, those of regulatory formalisation and degree of adherence, is a concept of autonomy, which is the 'root notion' of the broader concept of freedom. As Snell (1993: 77), explains: 'Regulatory formalisation is the extent to which there are clear roles, duties, rules or codes within an organisation. Adherence is the degree to which people perform to standards expected of them. These variables are salient features of a moral ethos, because of the potential constraints on moral self-presentation and action.' Negative freedom is defined as freedom from constraints, and permeating the reflections on the vignettes is a sense that this type of freedom is being reduced. Comments such as those made by John *'it's like an Orwellian nightmare'*, or Susan referring to management, *'I always find they tend to hinder my work rather than help'*, or Jason commenting on the peripheralisation of ALS staff (v3), *'It's about reducing costs. Bottom lining, and it's been forced in'*, convey a sense of constraint and lack of freedom. This is both a freedom from, for example the excessive paperwork of accountability, and a freedom to, for example the ability to work creatively with students. Resentment about Ofsted 'beating you with a big stick' encompassed a sense of both types of freedom being absent.

Further, in discussions about the weekend away there was a desire from some that it might remove the constraints of distance for example:

Holly: I think it would in terms of staff understanding each other, so that now we are working together and singing from the same hymn sheet. It's good bonding, yeah, and if it is senior management you see them in a different light, their guards are down, it's a weekend, you see them without official college policy wrapped around them.

But others felt it would be a form of facadism that would contrive a collegiality, whilst others resented what was regulatory formalisation and adherence being pushed into a weekend. The comments by Holly and others echo a concern that the concrete singularity of individual teachers has been absented by reducing them to abstract, objectified units. The worst example of this was felt to be during an Ofsted inspection when teachers are graded on a scale of 1 to 7. As Brenda explained:

Brenda: I think the sad thing about it – it was the first bit of positive feedback we have had in a long time. It was the first bit of recognition. That's the only place we got it from. But I know that I would not get a 1 or 2 if the students decided not to co-operate with me, it's as arbitrary as that.

The complexity of teaching ability being reduced to a number, which created an identity on a 1 to 7 scale, was resented by all of the teachers. This arose in discussions about 'naming and shaming' (v7), where in derisory terms the 'bean counting' employed by management to monitor targets and shape adherence was seen in this instance as using information to punish deviation or misconduct. As Liam, making comparisons with sales targeting in business, explained:

Liam: Exactly yes. I just don't think you can match one against the other. I would not do it in a family. If the head of Ofsted, of the family, came in (home) and started to write things down, then by nature it's a dysfunctional family. If you were trying to do that, set targets [...], get your husband to get you marks out of ten for dinner [...] you could improve in your cooking [...] are you going to say yes, or are you going to hit him over the head with a frying pan?

The use of the family metaphor invokes an ethos that is almost the antithesis of the regimes the teachers experienced. An ideal family setting approximates to 'low regulation and high adherence' where behaviour is patterned implicitly, and where a spirit of belongingness enables people to articulate their differences. This is in contrast to 'high regulation, high adherence' that at worse manifests itself in, what most teachers had encountered, the practice of 'naming and shaming' (v7). A major criticism of this practice was that it showed an absence of dignity and integrity and presented high political stakes. These are the next two dimensions to consider. Snell (1993: 78) explains: 'These variables are important within a moral ethos, since they reflect the extent to which members either care about one another or are ready to countenance bringing about suffering for one another'. The ideal type of a supportive community, is where respect is high and stakes are low. Here there is mutual help with no strings attached and private agendas do not conflict. However, what vignette seven was felt to reflect was the now familiar ethos of 'high stakes and low respect', where collaboration was sidelined due to the accent on individual performance management which created an environment of winners and losers. As observed by Earl:

Earl: I think that just undermines. It is extremely rude for a start, but it will change the dynamics of the institution and put everyone on defence. Also I would be particularly worried that you are on your own really. You are not going to get support from senior management and staff it's about 'you're not up to it, what are you going to do about it really?' It's not something about which there will be a dialogue. If there are problems there should be an appropriate dialogue between managers and departments rather than you're crap, what are you doing about it?

This absence of respect for dignity and integrity was felt strongly in discussions relating to the peripheralisation of the ALS staff (v3). A good example was that of June, a trained ALS teacher who had personal experience of the same issues:

June: Well, they have got rid of teachers, replaced them with assistants. Having worked for an agency I can understand it would make sense for the school to employ its own assistants because it costs less and you have to pay the agency a fee. The main issue is why are you getting rid of teaching staff? Trained teachers, who have been on courses and have specialised, it is de-skilling.

Ball has commented on the 'local economy of the child', here we have the same in respect of the teacher. Respect for staff becomes a function of teacher cost and the contribution one makes to league tables. Likewise Gewirtz (2002: 65) complained: 'So in the area of special needs, educational considerations were beginning to be subordinated to commercial ones.' However, her comments are directed towards the lack of integration of children with special needs. It should be noted that this win-lose struggle permeates staff relations. A further observation from June's commentary that will be touched on in the

next chapter on the contradictions between the social life-forms of business and school is her understanding that the ethic of care is being supplanted by an instrumental, utilitarian, economic ethic – that it is cost that matters. Both the recognition and acceptance of this as ‘there is no alternative’ of the ‘Tina’ formation (Bhaskar 1993: 116) is all too pervasive, and it is of particular interest to question why and how this has come about (see 8.3.1.2 for a fuller discussion of the ‘Tina’ formulation).

One possible explanation is the high concentration of power which makes it more likely that ‘members are under pressure to act against their will’ (Snell 1993: 79). Taking this dimension together with the ‘need for stability’, Snell (ibid) explains that ‘both variables are salient to moral conduct. They will for example, affect people’s willingness to challenge anomalies or injustices within the status quo.’ The sense of a concentration of power has been referred to above by Earl, who is concerned that it needs another concentration of power, that of an Ofsted inspection, to bring about change. This is endorsed by Brenda who recounted her own experience of Ofsted (v2):

Brenda: What would you do if you were in this situation? Well, I have been in it twice. In fact I have realised, actually, it is not a particularly helpful attitude. I think it is understandable because it is so difficult to try and affect change in terms of management from inside. So your hope is that someone from outside will come in and tell them to stop what they are doing, but in some ways its quite a forlorn hope and in some ways its such a desperate measure.

The absence of dialogue keeps relations at a distance, and maintains a concentration of power with management and that keeps the managed feeling that they are at the periphery of the decisions over corporate goals.

The breadth of constituency reflects the organisation's willingness to embrace a wide range of stakeholders and the openness to criticism reflects the extent to which it is ready to accept criticisms from outsiders. With a narrowly defined constituency and little openness to criticism this can lead to a school context of 'impression management'. As Ball (1994: 53) explains, this, combined with a 'responsiveness to the consumer are used to reorientate the values of the institution and subvert and reorder the priorities and purposes through which it presents itself'. In response to the head teacher fixing the new intake (v1) Brendan explained:

Brendan: Yes, it is unethical; he is automatically rejecting a whole cohort of children who have a right to an equal chance in his school. But he is making sure they do not get their equal chance right from the beginning by excluding them.

Here, as with all the teachers, Brendan is against the narrowness of the intake. Whilst he can understand the market logic adopted by the head teacher he sees this as subverting the school's responsibility to the local community and society at large. This practice of 'cream-skimming' for league table results causes a narrowing of the school constituency, which diminishes the moral ethos of the school. Brendan also acknowledges: *"It might be an easier school to work in where you have pretty highly motivated kids [...]. But from the point of view of justice to society no way is it defensible."* Several teachers recognised this potential personal benefit from 'cream-skimming'; as Susan remarked: *"If you're in a good school you're laughing, a good school will stay good and improve, but a bad school will do nothing but get worse because they get the dross that no one wants."*

Like Susan, Mandeep saw the 'personal' benefits and also took the stance that it was an ethical problem with which they would not be prepared to get involved: *"Exactly, you would be laughing. But its going back to the eighties. That's not what is supposed to be happening now. It should be mixing it all up with differentiation [...] This is a step back into the old."*

The absence of a wider stakeholder view was developed by Sebastian. He referred to a 'vertical community' as embracing long-term relations with parents of the present but also the past as well as the future. He also emphasised that this was expected from faith schools but it was by no means just their remit. Ironically faith schools by definition will have a narrower constituency by their selection, but the emphasis should be on an open dialogue within the faith, which would be the exact opposite to 'impression management'.

This wider stakeholder view was also suggested by Liam, to justify a vote of no confidence against the management of a Catholic school (v2), on the grounds that they were not upholding tradition. He explained that in drastic circumstances a failure in an Ofsted inspection might be considered a 'victory' for past generations, if the school is saved from bad management:

Liam: It is a failure for the school, the Catholic church, for the boys, been and gone. Past staff like Fred, past pupils, other people. It's a victory for them [...]. One part of us felt that the best thing would be for somebody to fail [...].It's very difficult to draw the line because there are a lot of people who have a stake in the school rather than just the management.

Liam developed at length this idea of defining a broader constituency of the school with reference to its history. He argued that the bad Ofsted inspection at his own school that resulted in special measures, with the head teacher and board of governors being dismissed soon afterwards, was in retrospect a good thing:

Liam: If you consider the war memorial and the names of the ex-pupils who died in the first world war. Lying in the fields of Flanders, educated at St Anthony's, two sentences that relay about themselves to the world carved in stone somewhere, and I consider them. A 125 year history, it's a long-term thing, and a couple of years of misery if we could come out of it.

An open dialogue across generations is indeed a broad constituency but more readily appreciated for a school than a business. The suggestion from Liam is that managerialist pressures suppress this, and it is ironic that outside criticism by Ofsted about the school at large facilitated a change in management where the 'values talk' that the logic of the market displaces (Ball 1994: 141) can now be re-opened.

Brenda identified the problem of a lack of open criticism when she remarked:

Brenda: [...]there is something in one of the books I've got about learning organisations and it says if you work with team cultures there is enormous pressure to conform and it is very difficult to break ranks [...]it becomes a problem of not being able to identify problems [...]But that's how you learn [...] problems are seen as people being negative [...] in a healthy culture you would be encouraging the identification of the problems so that you can put them right [...] and that I don't think that is around here."

This causes a tendency to always be on the defensive and to 'cover up' at all costs. The worst-case scenario of this appears in the case of the budget deficit (v8c). Reflecting on their own circumstances, some teachers could not imagine that this dire financial position could occur in a school without somebody knowing. Most then agonised over whether to blow the whistle and Earl sums up some of the discussions relating to the context of a school staffroom:

Earl: The staff room is very different. You can't keep anything like that under wraps. It creates a different relationship. As it should do – a staff room is different to any business. Businesses don't have staff rooms in the same sense, I am sure.

This assertion by Earl of a difference in the social relations within businesses and schools, will be explored further in the next chapter, but this belief is significant. It contrasts a school internal criticism that might develop in a staff room discussion of questioning stakeholders, with that of a business outside mechanism of an AGM and voting shareholders. Within a stakeholder and community ethic, the problem of a school deficit (v8c), should be addressed in an open dialogue, but in the shareholder model you sack the board. The ethics of the deficit situation was judged by Mikala in the following way:

Mikala: [...] this is like a disabled school. It really needs some leeway or help. It can't be left to sink or swim in the laissez faire situation it is in. If this is a disabled school on that model of a disabled person, then they get benefits. Now I don't know what benefits you can give a school to help to remedy this budget.

Mikala went on to argue against the inequity of having winners and losers, especially for poorer schools, which she interpreted this one as being. She concluded that the Ofsted investigation should in contrast couch its criticisms in terms of support and development.

The last two dimensions, 'demands on loyalty' and 'developmental openness', are described by Snell (1993: 82) as 'salient properties of a moral ethos because they allow one to ask whether the organisation is exploiting the individual, and whether the converse is true'. The ethical beliefs of the teachers relating to these arose in discussions surrounding the weekend away (v5). Some entertained the idea, as a way of bonding with management, but the majority saw it as a form of exploitation: *"Susan: What, ever [so] a nice hotel, get stuffed. It will be on the cheap and we do not get paid enough to give up our weekends, we already give up our weekends."*

Similarly John saw the event as a further encroachment on a teacher's time and he linked this 'demand on loyalty' with 'development openness'. The latter feature refers to the extent to which one develops personally by working in the organisation. In an ethical organisation one's individual abilities are enhanced rather than suppressed, but this is not felt to be the case by John, working in schools:

John: I wouldn't feel a bit happy about it. I'm for training, but one, it should not be cutting into your admin time, and two, it should not be in your holiday time cutting into your weekends. Take it out of your contact time, it never leaves you alone [...] It's about motivating people. Why aren't teachers motivated? The syllabus is rigid, and corporate driven.

This also suggests a high regulatory formalisation and adherence, where tight specificity in the syllabus and assessment regime feels like a straight jacket on being creative with students in the classroom. This mismatch between organisational demands on loyalty and personal growth was examined by Brenda and quoted previously in §6.3:

Brenda: I think it is about me looking at my own personal responsibilities about things [...] I do bring things down a bit now [...] I don't necessarily think I am responsible for achieving some sort of global college ideal? I bring it down [...] I have brought it right down to what I can do [...] the pressure.

For Brenda the pressures of dealing with management, which as Susan feels, *"tend to hinder my work rather than help"*, prevent the real work with students. To extricate yourself from 'thinking for the management' and achieving their global targets requires effort. Brenda recognises her part in a generalised 'master-slave' dialectic, something that will be discussed further in Chapter 8, and that her loyalty to their demands is to the detriment of one's own development which comes through relationships with students. A specific example of 'thinking for the management' came from Mandeep, who had found negotiations about his timetable exhausting: *"Because I was under hours for the first semester [...] they are making up the backlog of hours, I have to top up, they're clawing back. It's not my fault that you ca have an easy semester one, but semester two becomes a nightmare."*

The lack of balance in the student contact hours over the two semesters had caused management to fill up Mandeep's timetable with teaching and responsibilities for which he did not have the experience or expertise. In his view, somehow the management matter of timetabling had gone wrong and

had now become his matter. But underpinning this issue was an absence of proper consultation and understanding of his individuality. Instead there was a perception of him as a unit to be deployed in an ad hoc fashion and without attention to his own personal development that is a resource to be managed. These same issues arose in discussions surrounding the peripheralisation of the ALS staff (v3), where loyalty between the school and teacher is downplayed and processes of training and development, if they exist, are withdrawn.

6.4 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter it needs to be recalled that the Snell typology is drawn from business ethics, and absent are the salient features from school ethics which were derived from the data coding, namely an ethic of care, collegiality, authenticity of classroom work and attachment to the locality. These will be discussed in the next chapter, which explores the differences between schools and business. The emerging characteristics of the moral ethos can be 'measured off' against the six types. What predominates are features of an ethos to be found in the Kohlberg stages one to four (fear-ridden, advantage driven, members only and regulated), but seldom five or six (quality seeking and soul searching). However, this is not meant to be a systematic observation, rather an illustration of how far the Snell typology can be taken. Interpreting comments in this way to deduce a moral ethos is crude, and the resulting 'level' must not be taken as the sum of the moral reasoning patterns of individuals in the organisation. One further point to

note is that this typology has also been applied with a view to establishing what is absent in each of the dimensions and what is their alethic truth. It is to the latter that the next chapter turns in considering how 'business is business and education is education'.

This chapter has also introduced concepts from DCR and this process will be continued throughout this third part of this thesis. The use of DCR concepts is conducted in a selective and creative way. There is no attempt to immerse this study in the entire system of DCR or make a contribution towards a critique of its merits or limitations. However, I wish to justify this move towards using DCR concepts as an aspect of the dialectic of form and content. As mentioned in §5.1 and §5.8 there is no cookbook for a CR method but rather as Danermark et al (2002: 150) claim one's form of approach should fit in with 'the nature of the object under study' or its content. In part one it was suggested that writers such as Bottery implied CR concepts in order to make intelligible the content of education policy analysis. In part two I suggested that for a qualitative research and in particular ethnography of managerialism the content required CR concepts and methods. In part three I am suggesting that to make sense of, as well as organise what the teachers are saying, we need DCR concepts. Throughout the discussions of the vignettes the teachers repeatedly express aporias over their content. There are also frequent attempts to identify something absent when operating schools as a business. Furthermore, the teachers appear to hold to some notion of what schools 'really are', or a notion of the alethic truth of schools. Thus with aporias, absence, and alethia dialectical issues abound and we need to make a transition towards dialectic. Of necessity this form will make more intelligible the content. In the next chapter DCR concepts are applied further and in

particular there is an emphasis on locating contradictions in reality that is in the *real* sense in the strata of generative mechanisms underlying events and experiences.

Chapter 7

Business is Business and Education is Education

The Dialectical Contradictions

Introduction

In Chapter Four, I differentiated three senses in which schools and businesses could be contrasted: the sense that they cannot be similarly measured, (incommensurability), the sense that they cannot be compared (incomparability), and the sense that there are contradictions in assuming a homology between the two. In this chapter, these concepts are used to explore the vignette discussions and map out the differences that the teachers identify between businesses and schools. The aim is to continue the work of Ball (1994) and Bottery (1992, 1994, 1998, 2000) and construct typologies of differences, which in this study are derived using a DCR framework from the ethical beliefs of those working in schools. I proceed by considering four areas in turn. First, some comparisons are made between business and schools using Fleetwood's (2004) schema of the four modes of reality. Second, I illustrate the ideas of 'discursive commensuration' (Suzuki (2005), with examples from the data. Third, I identify the ethical dimensions that teachers feel are absent from business and separate them from schools. Fourth, I also discuss with examples the sense of contradiction that teachers feel between business and schools.

Brenda explains in relation to using film adverts on school computers (v6):

Brenda: It's a non starter really [...] schools are not— Business is business [...] education is education [...]. Schools should not have to get money this way [...]. Again if people have to go down those paths to get the money it masks the problem [...]. It hasn't gone away its just hidden!

Such sentiments were echoed by most of the teachers, and as well as suggesting that the two spheres are, and should be separate, there is also the assertion that raising revenue from business funds is 'masking the problem' of limited funds from taxation. Higher taxes, it was argued by some teachers, would remove the need for any business influences. It is worth noting that Nagel (1991:60), commenting on the 'moral division of labour between individuals and institutions' as a form of a solution to balancing the personal and impersonal standpoints, sees a role for redistributive taxation, and this is further developed in a later work (Murphy and Nagel 2002). But the teachers acknowledge that there should be a responsibility and accountability with taxpayers' money, but that this should be based on a discourse of 'public' rather than 'customer' service. To interpret "business is business [and] education is education" requires being explicit about the ontology one is using by considering the attitudes to what exists or should exist. It is important here not to commit the epistemic fallacy which collapses ontological concerns into epistemological concerns, where statements about being or 'what is' becomes transposed into statements about our knowledge of being or 'what is' (Bhaskar 1994:39). As a result, explains Fleetwood, 'what exists disappears from the analytical field as it is collapsed into knowledge about what exists' (Fleetwood and Ackroyd 2004:29). The result of such a move is to suggest that there can be no objective understanding in demarcating schools from businesses, as what exists is constructed by our processes of knowing what exists. But to reject this as resting on a fallacy is not to hypostatise or reify these two spheres, it is rather to treat them as

possessing real properties which 'have an effect or make a difference' both in each sphere and across the spheres. So when the teachers discuss the vignettes and claim something is wrong as it belongs to business and not schools, we need to map out the beliefs about what is real for each sphere and distinguish them if necessary from what is really the case.

7.2 Differences between Schools and Businesses, Employing the Four Modes of Reality

Fleetwood (2004: Ch 1) has devised a typology to identify four 'modes of reality' or ways of differentiating between different 'real entities': the material, ideal, artefactual and social. This is a useful way of mapping the ontological features that are suggested by the teachers as being incommensurable. For example, in the Brenda interview schools are presented as different from businesses in terms of 'material' resources; the 'ideas, beliefs' or discourses, for example about how and what should be delivered; 'artefacts' in terms of paperwork and methods of communication; and lastly the 'social' in terms of, for example, teacher/student loyalties. Each of these requires some explanation in order to show how this can be a useful typology.

According to Fleetwood, 'materially real' entities 'exist independently of what individuals or communities do, say, or think (Fleetwood 2004: 32)', and he cites as examples the weather, the moon and mountains. A sense of local geography or space features strongly as a distinguishing feature of schools. The attempt of a head teacher to engineer a school intake (v1) was criticised for many things, amongst which the impact on the local community, that is children, parents, other schools, transport facilities and so on was considered important. There is a strong sense that schools should be embedded in the

local, both materially and socially, and that cohort selection by a head teacher or a PFI scheme to build or refurbish a school may contribute to a 'disembedding'. In the case of a PFI involvement this was summed up by Jason as "*they give a space but not a place*". This refers to the increasing ability of business under globalisation to be 'footloose' and operate in any space without developing a feel for, or commitment to, a place. Schools however, are always materially embedded in a place as depicted in names such as Grange Hill, Brookfield College, or Manchester Grammar. The controversial idea that Manchester United football club could be relocated out of Manchester suggests a disembedding that, if it were to happen to the grammar school, would diminish its position and status. This is not to say that relocation is not possible, as universities, such as Nottingham, now have campuses in Asia. But for schools the relation with the local is social as well as material, and their education activities happen in a place rather than a space. Schools and businesses are distinguishable by real physical differences such as buildings, and this is an aspect which overlaps into the category of artefactually real. But the material status of buildings is conceptually mediated by the label school and business and is not independent of the activity that takes place inside. Some PFI agreements have arranged that the one physical building is used along two lines of school time, education activities and evening commercial time, such as gyms and social clubs. There is also the potential for alternative use, such as a hotel at a later date when the thirty-year leasing contract ends. The work of Polanyi (1992) and his interpreter Granovetter (1985) has contributed to an economic sociology that views market relations as embedded in wider social structures, networks and meanings. As Granovetter and Swedberg (1992 : 18) argue, market relations are not impersonal interactions or one off exchanges but become stable social forms as 'economic institutions are constructed by mobilisation of resources through social networks'. But the issue here is one of degree and teachers like

Jason above perceive businesses as contributing to 'the disembedding of space from place' (Bhaskar 1994: 70). As Ackroyd (2000: 203) claims in a comment not intentionally referring to business and schools, but pertinent: 'It is true that organisations are embedded in society, but the organisation is also in some ways actively disembedding as well. There is a large difference between organisations and traditional institutions in this respect.'

The 'ideally real' refers to discourse or discursive entities which are real in that they have effects. For example, the discourse of target setting is a generative mechanism in CR terms, but as Brenda explains in relation to naming and shaming (v7), its application in business is incommensurable with schools.

Brenda: Over 50% failures – what am I responsible for? To me [...] if I am going to be named and shamed [...] what am I going to do because I can't find it [...] there is so much outside subjects [...] some will pass more easily than others.

Predicting student results, like sales growths, is difficult since both occur in open systems (See Danermark, et al. 2002: 66-69 for a discussion of open and closed system and glossary Appendix 19). But there is an assumption that the activity of the classroom resembles a closed system and that teachers can be held responsible for outcomes that are produced in the exam hall. With this example of exam result variability in her subject, Brenda is also critiquing the 'discourse of forecasting' derived from business. What is expected of this discourse in business cannot be expected in schools and its incommensurability leads to irresolvable tensions. She explains further:

Brenda: I think that year on year that you have a course that is achieving badly, you are going to have to look at why. If it is that the course is too hard then maybe you have to axe the course but that's problematic in schools in that you have core subjects.

Here there is an incomparability between the commercial strategy of discontinuing an unsuccessful 'product line' and removing compulsory subjects from the curriculum. Transferring exam boards was a strategy that Brenda had encountered but for which she expressed disquiet, as it suggested a variability of standards between examination boards that should not exist. Discourses can make a difference, but not all do, and what is suggested here is that working alongside the discourse of target setting are extra-discursive factors such as socially real factors operating outside subject related factors. As Brenda explained, the social dynamics of two recent exam groups in terms of gender, ethnicity and social class combined with the material conditions of teaching in different college sites led to very different results.

7.3 Four Discernible Discourses of Difference

There are four discernible 'discourses of difference' that are inductively derived from the data in this study. These are (i) replicability, (ii) transferability, (iii) visibility, (iv) endurability. These are terms that sum up teacher beliefs about the difference between schools and business. Together they act as an index or conceptual framework with which to categorise teacher comments (See Ritchie, et al. 2003 Ch 9 pp 219-262). The first two (replicability, transferability) are suggested features present in business but absent in schools, and the next two (visibility, endurability) are present in schools but absent in business. I want to explain each briefly in turn before returning to the third and fourth modes of reality mentioned by Fleetwood.

7.3.1 Replicability

The first, to which Brenda refers to above, is the absence in schools of 'replicability'. This is the notion that a 'standardised product' is deliverable between the school and teacher and every student. As John exclaims, 'We're

not making baked beans', or as Susan states, 'the difference between being in education is that you don't consume education in the same way as you consume a chocolate bar'. If a person enjoys a tin of baked beans, chocolate bar or pair of shoes then they have a good chance of buying the same again. The commodity is replicable. But this is not possible in education as the educational experience of two children in the same class 9Y will be different. The disposition and temperament of child A will make the interaction with the teacher and other students in the class, different from that of child B. As June explained in her objection to the 'internal market' idea of paying for materials within school (v8b): *"Sometimes a good idea does not work with another set of children. So it does not always, you can try it, but you shouldn't have to pay for it. They should spread them, give them to him, because it is all one school."*

The teacher-student-resources interaction is not in a closed experimental system and it is mistaken to pay for materials where the outcomes are not guaranteed. Target setting for exam pass rates, national curriculum prescriptions, and exam board specifications are all attempts to standardise the 'product' which can never be fully replicable. The same issue exists when in performance management terms a teacher is targeted to reproduce the same results from class B in year 2 with the results achieved with class A in year 1. It is important to observe that these methods to manage schools as businesses are re-shaping the 'absence of replicability'. Also, in a similar vein, schooling is commodified by referring to students as customers. But many teachers, like Susan mentioned above, argue that students are not customers and do not consume education. As Keith explained further: *"Of course a few years ago we were enjoined to refer to all students as customers, in the usual market speak that this thing entails, and of course the problem was that they are not customers because they don't pay, the borough pays."*

This point was then extended with reference to the award of educational maintenance allowances (EMAs), where post-16 students *"get paid for attending college [...] rather than actually asking the students to actually pay for it."* With reference to naming and shaming (v7), it was felt strongly that judgements based on 'student/customer satisfaction surveys' were highly inappropriate. As Brendan argued: *"It's also giving right to a student as if they were equal in a learning teaching situation. They're not, so it would become a sort of personal thing. 'I don't like Mr Bloggs'. It would operate in practice in an unfair way."*

Furthermore, and in contrast, Susan explained that there was a danger that customer surveys could be manipulated to "put a gloss on things" and prevent "admitting there's weaknesses." Rather than students being manipulative it could be the management who concoct data to target a colleague for naming and shaming or gloss over problems they are unwilling to address.

7.3.2 Transferability

The second difference is the absence of 'transferability' in schools. The logic of competition is that if a company cannot make a profit it will transfer its resources and operations into something else but, as Keith explains, this is a problem for schools:

Keith: If you set up a shop or factory in a low income area you have to have lots of lower expectations than if you set up in a rich area [...]. If it is totally commercial then people are going to see there is no point in running a school here because we can't make a profit [...]. Then you shut down.

But a transferability of resources that results in the shut down of schools does not happen. One reason why this does not happen is related to the concept raised above of 'embeddedness'. If 'shut down' occurred this would lead to the removal of a state system of educational entitlement which in ethical terms would impact on social justice. As Keith stated:

Keith: I personally had a debate with an ex-finance director, who when the talk was of closing courses, because they were non-profitable. My actually stated case was why don't you close all the courses because they are all non-profit making. And the best way of course of avoiding all these losses and costs was to shut them all down, which was of course for which he had no answer.

This point also echoes Brenda's comment made above in §7.2 that with a state prescribed 'national curriculum' it is not possible to remove from the timetable mandated subjects in the same way that a business might change or discontinue a product line. If there is dissatisfaction with exam results a school decision might be to change exam boards but this lacks the

comparative freedom that exists in business to exit from an unsuccessful 'product' line. 'Replicability' and 'transferability' are two 'attributes' that the teachers consider is absent from schools but that business has now introduced. This it is felt by teachers should be resisted. The next two features of 'visibility' and 'endurability', on the other hand, are seen as important to schools and are often absent from business. They are features I want to argue that should also be protected from the colonising influence of business.

7.3.3 Visibility

In response to the dilemmas of Ofsted (v2 and v8), several teachers pointed out that the degree of inspection openness and visibility was markedly absent in business. The deliberations over whether to 'blow the whistle' about bad management (v2b) or a budget deficit (v8c), was not thought to be similar to business as there existed in schools a greater number of channels of communication that made the scenario of an isolated individual agonising about matters less likely. For example, Brenda explained that blowing the whistle about a budget deficit would be different in a school: *"I think you have to push it outwards rather than down to the employees. I think in the business world you don't necessarily push it down to employees, they may do to the unions sometimes, but it tends to go more into the business."*

The observation that Brenda is making is that because of the embeddedness of a school in a locality, information both good or bad 'moves outwards' through a 'grapevine' (See Ball and Vincent 1998), rather than being 'pushed down' and contained by employees. Meetings of the governors, staff meetings, and parents' meetings as well as Ofsted inspections and reports, create a visibility that is absent in business. Brenda's observation carries some

weight in two ways. First, it is the case that the AGMs of companies, their annual reports and business journalism, all generate information about a corporation, but this involves a visibility of official channels for investors rather than consumers. This is information which in some cases, according to Dunlop (1996), can be of dubious objectivity. The 'grapevine' of discussions between employees (teachers) and customers (parents), presents a different order of first hand immediacy. Second, as pointed out by Monks and Minow (1991), corporate accountability consists of two relationships: first, the accountability of boards to shareholders and, second, the accountability of both to society. It is the first relationship that dominates the corporate governance literature, with an increasing concern given to the second under stakeholder theory and corporate social responsibility. However, schools must address the second area; to be embroiled in the first is to be seen as a distraction. As Earl suggested (see above §6.4) in contrast to a business this could not be kept a secret from the workforce: *"The staffroom is different. You couldn't keep anything like that under wraps"*.

A budget deficit is a staffroom concern for the 'local community' rather than an issue between the boardroom and shareholders. Whilst Gewirtz (2002) has commented on the decline of sociability in the staffroom under managerialism, there is no suggestion that its function for information exchange, to which Earl alludes, has diminished. The phenomenon in business, of an isolated whistle-blowing individual does not parallel with that of a school staffroom where information may not be ethically screened but is nevertheless exchanged. This theme of visibility also arose in discussions over naming and shaming (v7). Again in contrast to business there is an understanding that bad results cannot be hidden, as June observed: *"Let's be honest, people are going to know, they don't need to be named and shamed. If the*

results are not good in your department you are going to be aware of that and you're going to be quite concerned."

Therefore, an additional criticism of naming and shaming is that there already exists a visibility about exam result performance, and combined with a personal ethic of responsibility it makes this an unnecessary practice. Indeed, reference was made in three cases to visibly acknowledged poor teaching, with a lament that management ignored the issue. However, there was a caveat that any intervention should involve support, and not naming and shaming. One final aspect of visibility refers to pay scales. Much of the objection to management awarding themselves a bonus (v2c) was that it contravened the established practice of transparent pay scales. As Liam declared: *"In a school system you're paid, there is a set scale. It goes with openness. Certain people were given money, but where does this come from? There is no scale, it seems to be the governors. It seems to me to be immoral that people are setting their own pay."*

In contrast with business, individual pay scales are largely visible to all in the organisation and generic pay scales are available to all outside. Under managerialism there has been some room for independently negotiated rates, but as Keith points out this is yet another half-hearted pretence at following business practice where only the worst aspects are incorporated:

Keith: So we get agreements by, we get a yearly assessment, appraisal, because that's very business, but you can't talk about money, because that's not up for discussion [...]What's the point of an appraisal if you can't discuss the things that matter?

The frustration that Keith expresses is that appraisals produce, through a selective managerial gaze, their kind of visibility, which is one that runs counter to “the things that matter”.

7.3.4 Endurability

The fourth and final discourse of difference to be identified from the data is that of ‘endurability’. This refers to a deep-seated sense that business practice dismisses the importance of enduring personal relations, of the lengthy process in achieving exam results or the enduring life histories invested in a school. To explain each of these in turn. Much of the criticism about the peripheralisation of the ALS staff stems from the likelihood that it will make staff/student relations weaker, by being less permanent and more likely to happen in a fragmented fashion. As Mikala suggested:

Mikala: It will be less coherent because of the few full timers in the department who have to communicate to the part-time strangers [...]. There is going to be a lack of continuity.

Repeatedly, it was argued that schools are about relationships which should be prioritised above and beyond costs, and that one cannot have core-periphery relations with children, especially the vulnerable who need learning support. Following on from this is the claim that Judith, amongst others, makes:

Judith: The thing with education is that you don't get instant results. If a student needs learning support you are not going to see results for months,

maybe years. It's not like somebody going in, you know, and typing where once they've done that task, that task is done.

In a similar fashion Brenda analyses how the impact of casualising the labour force can be detected for a business more easily than for a school:

Brenda commentary relating to durability

Brenda: I guess the impact on a whole years teaching and learning can be very significant [...]. Maybe it's to do with time. If you're Sainsburys and you put in peripheral staff, your core starts to get problematic. It's going to show very quickly in sales. You get very quick feedback, I think, in relative terms. Within education you may not. With sales figures you can do some analysis and see where the problem starts. I think you can't do that in education.

This delayed time span in achieving results and the need for consistency in relations was further illustrated by Brenda with a story of one student's tortuous progress towards exam success. It was only because of the enduring persistence of Brenda and her student Abdul that the latter was able to overcome setbacks that had in fact been made worse by managerialist policies. The increased pressure to achieve results in a short and fixed time span, and the tighter selection of students allowed to repeat exams, both for league table reporting purposes, meant that Abdul might have to abandon his goal of studying at university. However, this was prevented by the enduring support that Brenda had provided. Mentoring schemes at Station Road College have recognised and attempted to address the importance of

'endurability' relations. But, ironically, it is the business mentors that have never managed to sustain the contacts for any sufficient length of time. Only some businesses have long gestation periods and delayed feedback mechanisms, but it is all schools that are faced with these. The argument that Brenda is making is that an acknowledgement of such is absent from the imposed business model. This commentary is returned to again in this section below on page 255.

A further aspect of 'endurability' is that a *raison d'être* of schools, in contrast to business, is to bring together past, present and future generations. Whilst this can occur in some businesses (e.g. Gate Gourmet) it is not the expected norm. One criticism of the head teacher fixing a new intake cohort (v1) is that it may interrupt family ties with the school and divide siblings. Indeed some school admissions criteria acknowledge this and tend to favour keeping siblings together. One striking example of 'endurability' comes from Liam who, as detailed in §6.4, argued that placing his school into a two year difficult period of special measures was a worthwhile 'pay off' in order to preserve and honour its 125 year old history.

Enduring relations in life history terms is no less important at the marketised Station Road College. Commenting on management detachment from students, Alex illustrated the deterioration in enduring relations by referring to his staff room wall photograph of his tutor group of '98. He lamented that the students had changed since then and that the business model was to blame for turning relations into a 'delivery' process with reduced responsibilities.

These four 'discourses' derived from the data are 'construals' in that they are interpretations in this case of what is seen as different about a school from a business (Sayer 2004b: 7). As construals they contingently inform the material

construction of teachers’ accounts of the way schools should be organised. From a business stance, as constructed by the teachers, it is the absence of replicability and transferability that needs to be ‘rectified’ by standardisation of the curriculum and the introduction of flexibility in the PFI arrangements for new school buildings. From a school stance it is the absence of visibility and endurability in businesses that makes some of their practices incommensurable, such as post-Ofsted bonuses (v2c) or the creation of core-periphery staff (v3). A summary of these discourses as examples of ideally real modes of reality, along with the other modes of reality, appears in Figure 7.1 below.

Material	Ideal	Artefactual	Social
Locality	Replicability	Panopticon design	Distance and head-teacher power
Embeddedness	Transferability	Paperwork	Collegiality
Place/space	Visibility	E-mail communication	Asymmetry of power/divided loyalties between staff and students
Seasonal terms	Endurability	Hot-desking	Young persons and family metaphor

Figure 7.1. The four modes of reality used to explore the incomparability of schools with business (adapted from Fleetwood 2004: 32-37)

The term ‘artefactually real’ refers to ‘entities such as cosmetics, computers or the hole in the ozone layer’ (Fleetwood and Ackroyd 2004: 34). They are dependent on human activity, material but discursively and conceptually mediated. For example, Brenda discussed the endless “tick-boxing” paperwork of which some would be used to gather data to ‘name and shame’ (v7). She also complained about the prevalence of e-mail communications which compounded the gap between management and the managed (v2). For Keith, these as well as hot-desking are examples of business practices that

blur the boundary: it's "not whether we are private sector businesses or whether we are public sector education, it's the fact that we are not one and we are not the other."

One artefactually real feature of schools, in contrast to some businesses, which was not referred to in discussions is the persistence of the Panopticon design in school buildings. Indeed the separate 'ivory tower' administration block of Station Road College was commented on by John as accentuating the "them and us" divide.

Fleetwood describes the 'socially real' as 'practices, states of affairs or entities such as caring for children, becoming unemployed, the market mechanism, social structures, and organisations' (ibid p 35). They are non-material and are activity-dependent. They may be the subject of discourse but are not reducible to discourse as, contrary to social constructionist ontology, they have an extra-discursive dimension. For example, the following is a discussion with Brenda about implementing core-periphery staff (v3):

Brenda: The bits I know about it is that it can put enormous strain on the core and that remains if the core remains highly motivated and stays [...]. If you get turnover in your core you've had it [...]. If you put that kind of pressure on people you are putting pressure on the core.

Now 'core-periphery' is a 'socially real' entity, it is not material and is human activity-dependent. But a distinction is made in CR between the discourse of core-periphery workforce casualisation and the practices and social relations involved which are not reducible to discourse alone. As Fleetwood explains: 'If socially real entities such as structures and organisations really were epiphenomena of discourse, then we could change them by changing the

discourse: we could talk ourselves into a completely different set of social structures' (Fleetwood and Ackroyd 2004: 36).

Thus to remove 'core-periphery' as a structure something more needs to be done than refraining from engaging in discursive practices. Extra-discursive matters such as equalising employment contracts, providing access to resources or removing hot-desking also require attention in order to alter the production and reproduction of core-periphery employment patterns. To make this clearer we need to return to the transitive/ intransitive distinction, which characterises CR ontology. Our transitive knowledge is embodied in theories, practices, discourses and texts and is socially and historically located. So we can have a theory of core-periphery workforce casualisation, which is epistemic, constituting knowledge, and is a transitive entity when deployed in our activities. But CR also maintains that there is an intransitive world independent of current theories, practices, and discourses, and this is what science seeks to study. As Bhaskar (1989b:22) explains: 'The intransitive objects of knowledge are in general invariant to our knowledge of them; they are the real things and structures, mechanisms and processes, events, and possibilities of the world'. There are structures that generate short-term, marginal contracts, and these are ontic, as they exist independently of our knowledge of them. These structures are a relatively unchanging (intransitive) phenomenon.

To return again to the commentary by Brenda (above relating to durability), where she considers the practice of casualisation to be more damaging in a schooling context than business, on the grounds that it destabilises the long-term relationships that are necessary for promoting exam success. This commentary is also useful to draw out the distinction between theories about applying business ideas of core-peripheralisation to schools,

i.e. transitive knowledge, and existentially intransitive objects such as the examination process, to which this knowledge is applied. For both business and school activities there exists transitive knowledge about these activities. But there are also structures, i.e. intransitive properties that exist in business and in schools. What Brenda is examining in this quotation is incommensurability between the intransitive properties of schools and of businesses, namely for instance, the developmental pattern of students learning or the time-lapse that exists between teaching and formal assessment and it is also this that makes the relative comparability of the theory (transitive knowledge) inappropriate. So for example the impact of a policy of workforce casualisation on sales figures, suggests Brenda, is easier and quicker to measure than the relatively fixed time lag of exam course delivery and exam results. What Brenda does is to examine the theory of core-peripheralisation as an entity in its own right. In this context, the theory is ontic and has become an intransitive entity, as it exists independently of any subsequent knowledge the analysis generates. Brenda then evaluates its pertinence for the different spheres of business and schooling.

The socially real entities of schools are summarised in Figure 7.1, above, as distance between the managed and management and the hierarchical power that is invested in a head teacher. The absence in schools of functional specialist managers in areas such as human resources, finance and marketing means that the head teacher and senior management cover a wide range of responsibilities. It also affords them considerable power; several teachers feared head teacher retribution if they were to blow the whistle about the budget deficit (v8c). The social relations of collegiality have been discussed at length in the previous chapter and its relative absence in business should be noted. The asymmetry of power between staff and students has been discussed by Willmott (2002:13). While there is a symmetrical internal

necessity to a teacher–student relation, ‘because one could not exist without the other’, an asymmetry of power relations is ‘exemplified by a one-sided domination’ which structurally gives the teacher the ‘upper hand’. Most businesses recognise they could not exist without customers, hence in that sense the business–customer relation is also internal and necessary; however, unlike the student–teacher relation, the relation is external and contingent in respect of any particular customer. Nevertheless, whilst teachers have the ‘upper hand’, nearly all the teachers expressed their divided loyalties between doing their best for students and accommodating managerialist policies that were seen as a hindrance. For example, some suggested they would ignore the partial selection of students for after school classes (v4) and leave them open for all. Others felt in this case and with the new intake selection (v1) that it was wrong, because educational chances that they had received in their own lives were being denied to students. A strong loyalty to students was expressed by Susan who explained, “I have a loyalty to the students, my loyalty to the students is greater than my loyalty to other members of staff I’m afraid.” Commenting on under-performing staff (v7), she felt aggrieved that known cases were not dealt with by management and that this had a detrimental effect on the staff team and relations with students. But she was emphatic that under-performing staff should not be named or shamed or undermined with students, but instead should be supported. The sense of loyalty to the students highlights a socially real property that differs from a commitment to ‘customer service’. The former embraces an ethic of care whilst the latter is a strategy for profits. This leads on to the final aspect in the socially real column that Brendan explains:

Brendan: Because we come back to the idea that schools are not businesses. The process of education is for young people. People who are not mature yet. That in itself differentiates between business and schools. If nothing else does.

You are dealing with young minds, immature people [...]. Therefore, they should not be subjected to the practices that pertain among companies.

This demarcation in terms of young people is extended further when the family metaphor is employed. There are some family businesses but it is not an expectation that this should be a feature of all businesses in the way it is often considered to be intrinsic to the relations of those involved in schools. In his objection to naming and shaming (v7), Liam explained (see §6.4) that this was wrong on the grounds that you would not expect a family to conduct itself in such a way “*[if] ...the head of Ofsted, of the family, come in and write things down. Then by nature this is a dysfunctional family [...]*”.

Observing the school as a family is more than a metaphor as it is endorsed to a large extent by the legality of *in loco parentis*. It is in this social relation that is raised here – a further demonstration of incommensurability between business and schools.

7.4 Differences between Schools and Businesses, Employing Discursive Commensuration

It was explained in Chapter 4, that Suzuki (2005: 275) argues that commensuration ‘is a social process by which agents discursively transform incommensurable values of items into a commensurable form’. In this section I provide some illustrations of the uncomfortable feeling teachers have about schools being measured along business lines. I divide their comments according to four areas discussed by Suzuki, namely ideas about (a) What can

be measured; (b) What cannot be measured; (c) What cannot be sold; (d) What ought not be sold.

7.4.1 What can be measured

Several aspects of 'business monetary' measurement were seen as unavoidable but most were scornful of the priority it received. Thus "bums on seats" (Holly) disparagingly refers to student driven income and "bean counting" (Keith) to accountancy driven management. Ofsted measurements, especially 'value for money', came in for considerable criticism. Judith considered that an ongoing problem was the way inspection criteria seemed to vary: *"So it's a fashion, it's a matter of flavour of the month at the time."* She referred here to classroom observations that she, like other teachers such as Keith, had little confidence that inspectors could assess adequately. As Keith declared: *"I must admit, I always get the feeling half of the people who actually observe you teaching, I don't really respect their views in any case, so I don't really care what they think."*

There is an acceptance, as Susan explained, that some measurement is valid and worthwhile: *"I actually like having Mike (the manager) come in and observe my classes, everyone else moans, but I think you need that kind of thing. You get into ruts without knowing about it, you know you get into bad habits and you can always be learning something new."*

But underpinning the comments of Keith and Susan are notions that observations should be conducted in a collegial and supportive way rather than the performativity approach of management. This is especially important as, in contrast with business, there is a feeling that much of teaching is indeed difficult to measure. This leads on to the next section.

7.4.2 What cannot be measured

In response to naming and shaming (v7), it was repeatedly suggested that 'exam results' or 'student customer questionnaires' are problematic in measuring an individual teacher's performance as student success depends on the combined efforts of several teachers. Further, as Earl suggested, *"comparing different departments even in a firm, it might be simplistic if it measures success just as sales statistics. Clearly within education you can measure success in a wide range of things and you are not starting with the same inputs, are you?"*

As mentioned above Brenda considered the variability in, and the time taken to achieve, exam results causes them to be an unreliable measurement of performance, in contrast to sales figures. This is endorsed by Keith who explains:

Keith: If I was a salesman you would give me a catalogue and I go out there on the stomp and I make x amount of money. And I get a percentage of that in commission, that's very, very straightforward. Even in that example if you start carving the country up and somebody happens to just luckily pull the rich area and somebody pulls the poor area, then they can quite happily say that's not fair treatment [...]. You would need a level playing field.

Here, in this analogy of sales areas with school catchment areas, Keith makes the point that this categorisation of rich and poor is understood as having explanatory power in business, but in schools it is downplayed or ignored. Instead teachers are accused of whingeing if they appeal to the absence of a level playing field. Indeed Willmott (2002: 151) has produced a

comprehensive critique of the school effectiveness movement as a positivist methodology that 'secrets an atomised social ontology'. In doing so it disavows a deeper relational social ontology that would give adequate attention, as Thrupp (1999) does, to the 'school mix' of children from differing socio-economic backgrounds.

Both Mikala, Brendan and Earl, suggest that there are intangibles about education that simply cannot be measured. It is something more diffuse than 'performance', the measurement of which is reductionist. Referring to the utilitarian, fact obsessed Mr Gradgrind in Dicken's *Hard Times*, Mikala felt that schools had returned to this age. The attempt to 'factualise' everything in money terms, she felt, did not sit well with what are intangible processes in the classroom. Likewise, Brendan stated: *"Much of education is intangible, and though you need to run within a budget you can't put a monetary value on the things that go on in schools."* The most vociferous objection to 'monetary values' were made about the post-Ofsted management bonus (v2c). Here it was felt strongly that just measuring the contribution of management was misguided if not impossible. As Sayer (1992: 179) explains, mathematics is an acausal language, and in quantitatively measuring performance and bonuses there is no causal explanation of phenomena. For example, mathematics 'lacks the categories of 'producing', 'generating' or 'forcing' which we take to indicate causality'(ibid.: 179), and so how is it ascertained that high level inspection grades were produced or generated by management?

7.4.3 What cannot be sold

The issue of an internal market (v8b) generated comments that bordered between what 'cannot be sold' and 'ought not be sold'. Brendan considered how complicated it would become if the art department started to sell its services for painting a mural for the drama department and that these favours could not be sold. Taking the logic to the extreme Brendan quizzed: *"If the people who take away students to play a game in a national league or something, are the departments from where those pupils come to pay the PE department?"*

The pressure of league tables tends to make teachers resentful of students disappearing for sporting events, never mind paying the PE department for the privilege. Constitutive of the relationship between school departments and their students is that the latter cannot be sold. But some felt that there might be a hint of 'sales brokerage' in the after-school classes (v4). The selected students are taught by selected teachers in selected subjects who are then paid overtime, in some cases from funding such as Excellence in Cities money. The selection process for teachers was seen by some as potentially divisive in that English, Maths and Science can be sold (for overtime teaching) but not others such as Business Studies, French or History. This sets up a hierarchy of subjects, the core versus the rest which, to coin a Bernsteinian concept, 'weakly framed' because are they are now paid for to continue outside of school hours. We might expect that those subject teachers who are denied this chance of overtime pay might become resentful. But from an ethic of collegiality all accepted that extra core subject classes were valuable and they did not begrudge the overtime to their colleagues. Here we have a semblance of the individualised remuneration that occurs more frequently in business. Also, there is some diminution in the status of those subjects that cannot be sold, and this produces a new principle of ordering and replacing

'traditional' hierarchies of knowledge. But in both cases this is accepted for its benefit on student performance.

7.4.4 *What ought not be sold*

Holly and Brendan acknowledged that schools did 'sell' the hire of their halls for weddings or playgrounds for car boot sales. But like most they considered that selling advertising space on screen savers (v6) should not be allowed to happen. As Earl argued: "You can discuss the whole concept of business in an appropriate environment but schools shouldn't be businesses or be used as advertising billboards." However, both Liam and Alex saw no objection to the policy, arguing that advertising was not inherently immoral, existed everywhere in the students' lives and could be advantageous in revenue terms for the school, and for the students if discounts were attached. In contrast, rather than businesses 'taking' advertising space for money, it was felt by Earl, Ray and John that businesses should be 'giving' their insights and expertise for free.

Selling the Ofsted materials internally (v8b), was felt by all to be something that should not happen. As Holly commented, with the two departments *"under the same roof it seems very unusual."* Part of the objection from Earl and Brendan is that there is a community richness in sharing schemes of work, and doing favours, where large and wealthy departments such as English can cross-subsidise the smaller and less well financed department such as History. But as Earl claimed: *"The market flattens things, you're all just an economic unit and that's a shame really."* Underpinning the argument for an internal market is the epistemological emphasis that 'the market knows best'. But permeating this and similar comments is the concern whether the market can grasp the ontology of schools. In Maki's (2001) terms this is not possible,

as markets are guilty of 'ontology avoidance'. Markets create wants and desires but do not specifically address the ontological needs of what it is to be human. That is, they do not operate on the basis of what is the nature of the thing they provide or serve. Thus the flattening that Earl alludes to is a flattening of the ontology of schools. This conveys a sense of inauthenticity as the customer or parent is simply responsive to the lure of the market.

A slippery-slope argument was central to most criticisms of the intra-school market in Ofsted materials (v8a) as well the internal market (v8b). As Sebastian cautioned: *"I think its spreading the disease [...] it extends its tentacles to everything."* The boundary between schools and businesses are severely blurred at this juncture, and as John lamented, *"it's a sad day when you have to go around flogging their wares to other schools to make a quick buck [...] you are making it into a little factory."* In claiming one ought not to sell externally¹ or internally, there is an attempt to resist the two aspects of discursive commensuration to which Suzuki refers. First, to counter the process where ideas and resources once shared are measured in monetary terms. Second, to counter the rhetoric where schooling begins to be conceived of and spoken about in monetary and market exchange terms. In drawing a boundary against this 'disease', there is partly a claim that schools are 'ethically' separate, and it is this that the next section examines.

7.5 The Separateness of School Ethics from the Lack of Business Ethics

The use of the term separate is incorporated here from the business ethics literature, where it is recognised that 'ethics' and 'business' are often seen as contradictions in terms. As Jones et al. (2002:25) explain, 'The separation thesis posits that people, for the most part, tend to see the language and concepts of ethics and business as separate and that they occupy distinct realms (e.g. ethics deals with altruism and concern for others; business deals with selfishness and profits)'. Indeed, many business ethicists see their primary task as to dispel what seems to be a deeply entrenched view that 'cutting moral corners' is inevitable in business in order to 'get ahead'. There is thus a notion of double standards, where the morality that governs business is 'separate' from the rest of social life. Comments such as: *"It's tacky but that's business"* (Kevin) or *"A business is a completely different kettle of fish, it is only there to make money. It is not there for the long term benefit of anybody, it is there for the short term benefit of the people who are trying to get money out of it"* (Liam), convey this sense that a separate moral code licences certain behaviours in business, which are unacceptable elsewhere. This separatist view is in contrast to a 'unitarian' perspective where the values and standards of society are expected to exist within businesses. Pratley (1995: 30) refers to the unitarian view as pre-modern where 'the business system is seen as operating in unbroken unity with the moral community', whereas the separatist view suggests that business is separate from the solidarity and moral warmth of the moral community and therefore cannot be judged by conventional public morality. In a synthesis of these two contrasting views, Pratley discusses the 'integrationist' position where public morality is acknowledged as already immanent within business. The moral community

and businesses are seen as partly different and relatively autonomous, but participation between the two comes about 'at the intersection of strategic self-interest and moral responsiveness' (Pratley 1995: 71).

A unitarist conception pervades the school ethics literature where schools are seen as part of, and intricately involved in, upholding community values. But accusations of a form of 'separatism' were made by Callaghan in his critique of education as a 'secret garden' free from accountability. According to one simplified interpretation, it was to counter this separatism that led to the introduction of managerialist business techniques. But then in turn it is business that embraces a separatist perspective. What is evident from the interview data is that teachers view schools as 'separate' from this 'separate morality' of business, and that schools are seen as unitary with the moral community. As Brenda stated: "*Business is business. Education is education*", and this echoes the Friedmanite perspective: 'That the business of business is business'. According to Friedman (1993), in his seminal 1970 article, business does not have a duty towards social responsibility but has a positive duty to increase its profits. Thus taking up social causes detracts from its main purpose and is objectionable. Similarly, in Brenda's comment there are echoes of Carr's (1993) perspective in his 1968 article that business is like poker, it has its own 'game' rules and does not follow the rules of ordinary morality. Instead of the golden rule: 'Do as you would be done by', Carr asserts that: 'A good part of the time the businessman is trying to do unto others as he hopes others will not do unto him'. Again, this separateness is something from which it is felt schools should be disassociated.

7.6 *The Contradictions of Schools as a Business*

In the design of the vignettes and then in the discussions, there is a pervasive sense of contradiction between business practices as applied to schools. The concept of dialectical contradiction (introduced in Ch. 4.3), where the elements of a totality (e.g. schools–business) are both interconnected and necessary to each other yet necessarily in conflict, helps to sharpen the analysis of these perceived contradictions (Bhaskar 1993). Combined with the concepts of incommensurability and incomparability, this offers further purchase on identifying the reasons for a teachers' moral compass to spin. Bhaskar (1993: 72 f.) discusses 'seven philosophical errors conjugating around contradiction' and I want to relate each of these in turn to the practical case of analysing what arises in the interview data. It is not Bhaskar's intention to psychologise contradictions, but this analysis proves useful in shedding light on the difficulties teachers have with aspects of the vignettes. Not knowing what to say or do in such situations is referred to by Bhaskar as 'a problematic axiological choice situation' (see Ch. 6.3, above).

- i. To logicise being by using the principle of non-contradiction as a criterion – or, in Hegel's case, contradiction as a postulate – for defining reality.

In our interpretation of the teachers comments we should note any tendency on the part of the teachers themselves, to treat non-contradiction as axiomatic of reality; this is to commit a version of the epistemic fallacy (fusion) which perpetuates a species of dualism (fission) whereby what is logical and what is real are two completely separate things. When contradictions are committed or come into being, as they were or did in the management of schools prior to 1992 and financial devolution, as well as thereafter, they are real and thus part

of reality. What is of interest is the assertion that contradictions proliferate with managing 'schools as business' or their colonisation by the market. In reference to an internal market for Ofsted materials (v8b), phrases like *"its bonkers"*, *"doesn't make sense"* or *"but this shouldn't happen in a school"* present a notion of both logical as well as dialectical contradiction. We need to be mindful that this is a reality. Measuring school processes by money was heavily criticised by Susan: *"Totally inappropriate for an education environment, absolutely, totally and utterly, it's not what education is about."* The 'intangibles' of schooling form part of the dialectical contradiction of the school-business totality, and all attempts to impose measurement is in tension with this sphere. Therefore, resisting Ofsted performativity measurements highlights that 'contradiction' is a social reality of schools.

- ii. To detotalise being – by refusing to admit the existence of contradictions (logical ones included) in reality.

The splitting off of contradictions from reality is to detotalise it. Management are often accused of this, a topic which is opened up in discussions concerning the award of a post-Ofsted bonus to themselves (v2c). 'Trickle down' as a market theory was seen as contradictory in schools, and it was doubtful that this would be acknowledged by its beneficiaries. Putting on a show for Ofsted, such as buying materials and advice, in order to succeed embodies a theory-practice contradiction. As Susan declared, *"This is the examiners helping you to pass their exam"*, but to ignore this contradiction is to 'detotalise' being, and much of the scorn in which Ofsted is held emanates from its refusal to accept that such contradictions exist.

- iii. To belittle or otherwise obtund the significance of contradictions – either as bases for criticism and/or harbingers, indeed dynamos, of change.
- iv. To acquiesce to, rather than try to resolve (or more generally seek an appropriate response to), contradictions.

The teachers identified logical contradictions at the heart of some of the vignettes that made them feel uncomfortable. This Bhaskar (ibid: 80) identifies as 'a potentially dilemmatic situation, all agency involves both a moment of indeterminate negation and a context of axiological underdetermination'. In vignette evaluation terms this translates as 'what is it about this scenario that needs to be absented and what are the values at play here?' Contradictions may be dismissed as insignificant or irresolvable. For example, the internal market was roundly belittled by John: *"the local Del boy going round, How much do you want for this computer? [...] go round flogging their wares to other schools to make a quick buck"*(v8). Likewise others argued that because advertising is widespread in society, it could be claimed that film adverts in school (v6) pose less of a problem as they can be monitored or pose a problem that is beyond control of the school. The range of responses to a real contradiction may vary from repressing it to exploiting it. For example, a teacher aiming for every student to achieve above a grade C, when confronted with the grade D rule, might ignore it and admit all students if possible, or arrange private tuition for a fee to those barred (v4). The really creative response to a contradiction is the 'non-valent' one recommended by Bhaskar (ibid.: 83): to say, 'this is the moment of change. The point of transition. The boundary.' It is instructive to view the vignette issues in this way both theoretically and practically. Attempts to resolve the contradiction of the internal market were made by several teachers as they suggested central purchasing with school or

LEA funds. One contradiction in a response by Liam, set up a boundary condition between the way businesses relate to each other and to schools in terms of advertising:

"Liam: [...] this copper fastens that we are not a business. Because businesses by and large tend not to advertise in other businesses. You don't go into MacDonald's and see some sort of a deal for Burger King, advertising in MacDonald's. They link up to do things mutually beneficial but they don't see it as a place where people go where their business is to be mentioned."

Liam points out that competition does not as a rule permit your rival to advertise in your own company. Generally there is a reluctance to offer advertising space between businesses unless to a mutual advantage. Attempts by business to advertise in schools may help address this problem but at the same time also defines that a school is different.

- v. To imagine triumphalistically that such resolutions are always possible, even if only in principle.

It is not always possible to resolve a dialectical contradiction, there may be no overcoming or *Aufhebung*. An ever present constraint across the vignettes is that of tax revenue and the resultant public accountability. It would be triumphalist to proclaim easy solutions to the costs of ALS staff (v3), extra revision classes (v4), or the problem of a budget deficit (v8c). This needs to be borne in mind, if it is not observed by the teachers. The contradictions may not be absolute but at any particular point in time the conditions for resolutions may not yet be ripe or foreseeable.

None of the teachers made the error of 'triumphalistically' declaring the contradictions of the internal market were resolvable (v8). Most felt that as departments were operating under the 'same roof' this was a sufficient argument against its introduction. The 'same roof' becomes the boundary or constraint on market operations.

- vi. To assume that once a system contains a contradiction, contradictions must spread universally and inexorably throughout it.

This point alerts us to the fact that contradictions that the vignettes throw up do not necessarily mean that the whole school system is gripped by them where they spread 'viciously and fatally' (Bhaskar *ibid.*: 84). One approach is to 'detotalise, sequester or compartmentalise them, or their source; and/or to isolate them, regarding them as tedious, time consuming or distracting anomalies in an otherwise progressive process which may eventually be able readily to accommodate them' (*ibid.*: 85). This is a restraining recommendation at the point where in exasperation the teachers consider the '*whole system as bonkers*' (Susan) or an '*Orwellian nightmare*' (John). For example, when considering an internal market in Ofsted materials there needs to be caution that this contradiction might be extrapolated to every form of school inter-departmental relations. Sebastian assumed that contradictions become endemic: "*Intra-school market, I think this is spreading the disease [...]. Because it extends its tentacles to everything, where will it stop?*"

- vii. To be intimidated by, or fight shy of them.

The vignettes are designed to deliberately provoke and the contradictions thrown up should be seen as potentially productive as well as destructive. 'They need not be antagonistic, i.e. involve conflict of interest. In general contradictions demand and in some cases prepare the ground for, their resolution ' (ibid.: 86). Some might consider the suggestion of a weekend away (v5) or film adverts (v6) in this light and it is instructive to consider which scenarios are interpreted in such a way. To fight shy of contradictions is a mistake, evident in Earl's response: *"Because of the bureaucracy, I am too lazy to deal with an internal market. Because again you are reduced to economic transactions really."*

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has continued the work of Chapter Four by illustrating the concepts and associated issues surrounding incommensurability with examples from the data. In order to trace schematically where differences may be found between the two spheres, use was made of Fleetwood's four modes of reality typology. Like all typologies the categories are not water tight, and attempting to fit the data according to the four areas can take on a strained and contrived aspect. But nevertheless it does facilitate arranging the data in such a way as to frame other avenues of analysis of incommensurability, for example the four discourses of difference, namely replicability, transferability, visibility, and endurability. Drawing on ideas from business ethics, the 'common sense' notion that business has its own distinctive ethics was explored and this was supported with data from the interviews. Following this a discussion ensued as to how contradictions (logical or dialectical) existing within and between the two spheres of businesses and schools should be treated. This is a particularly useful example of a theoretical agenda being

applied to the practical analysis of data, as well as offering a scheme to interpret the stance that interviewees might take about contradictions.

One limitation of this study more apparent in this chapter, is the one sided focus on the perspectives of the managed without much attention to the perspective of the management. As discussed in §2.1 and § 2.1.6. this is a deliberate aspect to the design of the study but by some way of redress the next chapter teases out this dialectic although it remains rooted in the perspective of the managed. What has also been raised in this chapter and continues further in the next is the notion that these contradictions between 'schools as a business' will not go away and that in the relations of managed to management there is a 'pulse of freedom'.

Chapter 8

Recognition between the Managed and Management

8.1 Introduction

Sayer (2000: 183) explains in a commentary on the work of Charles Taylor that 'since identities are formed dialogically in social contexts, they require recognition from others, not denial or misrecognition, and hence withholding recognition can be a form of oppression'. In this chapter I use the concept of recognition in a continuation of the data analysis. I do not intend to use it in a contrastive sense with distribution, as is frequent in debates on social justice, equality and the politics of identity, but more as an orienting or 'background' concept (Layder 1998:101) for the commentaries the managed raise about their management. Repeatedly criticisms are levelled that proper recognition is not extended, which is exhibited in the distance between the two (v2), or that it is contrived (v5), or that misrecognition exists in the form of performativity measures (v7). In this chapter I explore these issues in three further sections. §2 gives some general justification about the efficacy of using the concept of recognition. In §3 I analyse the ethical beliefs of the managed about the management and do so by employing the framework of four-planar social being (Bhaskar 1993:160), which brings together four interdependent planes which constitute social life. I shall also focus on the major ethical issue of distance through the lens of concepts and ideas from the literature on business ethics. In §4 I draw these themes together by suggesting that, in contrast to previous investigations on the impact of policy, the focus should

be directed from the 'effective to affective to ethical' (See McNess, et al. 2003). The concept of recognition provides a manageable frame within which to examine the constraints that the management pursuit of the 'effective' places on the 'affective' (emotions) and 'ethical' (beliefs).

8.2 The Concept of Recognition

The following quote from Susan demonstrates a clear lack of recognition from her line manager as she also compares an FE college to a school:

Susan: [...] it may be more difficult in a school to have a vote of no confidence in management because you are probably closer to them, you probably know them. Certainly, Dyer used to be our curriculum manager, he wouldn't know who I was if I came and smashed him in the face, he wouldn't know who I was. So you've got less loyalty to perhaps your managers than you may have in a school where you work together a lot more.

Here the absence of recognition, Susan goes on to explain, exemplifies a distance between the managed and the managers, which further manifests itself in a lack of loyalty and trust between them both. Her observation that recognition may be less of a problem in schools is based on the size of the respective organisations, but as Liam explains about the weekend away: (v5): "I would not have been against it because, apart from everything else, people very often are compartmentalised in the school and you don't know what other people are like. If you have a weekend away you get things from different points of view."

In both types of organisations it is palpably evident that the lack of, and desire for, recognition is continually in need of satisfaction. As Sayer (2005: 55) explains, we are dependent on others in instrumental ways but also non-

instrumentally as ends in themselves 'as sources of non-instrumental valuation of our own being and standing in terms of respect and esteem'. A weekend away (v5) was generally considered to operate for 'instrumental reasons' where there were also dangers of misrecognition. A weekend away might counteract the decline in staffroom sociability that Gewirtz (2002: 79) and Ball (2006: 152) report, or what has become the 'balkanisation' of departments according to Hargreaves (1994).

As hinted, associated with recognition are the concepts of autonomy, trust, and 'othering'. Further the manager/managed relations can be conceptualised as a form of a generalised master-slave dialectic. I will mention something about each of these briefly in turn at this point, returning to fuller examples in §8.3. In the case of the first: 'Autonomy requires us to have certain capacities, such as confidence, which can only be acquired through the support of others and via their recognition of us as subjects' (Sayer 2005: 55). One has to have autonomy for lack and desire to be satisfied. However, the prescriptiveness of 'tick-box' managerialism becomes autonomy-reducing, and recognition given to paperwork appears to take precedence over the person of either teacher or student. Trust is also linked, in that if we cannot trust others and we are not trusted by them, then our freedom will be restricted. As Bottery (2004:101) explains: 'So while excessive fragmentation can lead to misunderstandings and to difficulties in assessing risk, producing strong feelings of confusion and distrust, excessive standardisation can also produce a distrust in the exercise of personal autonomy'. Tick-boxing measures demonstrate a lack of trust and there is a reciprocal lack of trust in the recognition given to these measures. As Susan declared: *"I always find they tend to hinder my work rather than help it."* Her plea is to absent the depthlessness of tick-boxing.

This brings us to the third concept of 'othering' as the managed define their identity in contrast to the stigmatised 'other' of management. This reinforces the institutional hierarchical difference between 'them' and 'us'. But Sayer (2005: 59) points out there is a danger in defining oneself in contrast with the other as it generates identities that are 'negatively rather than positively constituted, so that either granting recognition to the other or removing them would mean a loss of their own identity'. This raises the reciprocal dependency for recognition in the dyadic relationship of the manager as master and the managed as slave. These first three 'recognition concepts' both individually and collectively feature as central aspects of some business ethics frameworks, and I want to provide an example for each to illustrate this with data, as well as show links with DCR. These will also be referred to in §8.3, where I discuss the master-slave dialectic.

8.2.1 *Autonomy as presented through the lens of business ethics*

In this section I want to refer to some of the business ethics literature that has concentrated on the importance of promoting and maintaining an ethic of autonomy in organisations. Bowie (1999: 70), arguing from Kantian principles, declares: 'The work relationship must support the autonomy and rationality of human beings. Work that unnecessarily deadens autonomy or that undermines rationality is immoral.' The desire for freedom *from* 'tick-box' processes is related to a desire for freedom *to* teach creatively. The liberal ends of education are invariably stated in terms of autonomy and human flourishing, but it is in the business ethics literature that the ends of work are presented in similar terms (See White 1990 ; White 1997 for discussion on education). Autonomy reducing managers that '*hinder*' the managed are judged by the latter to be immoral and / or ineffective. Criticisms relating to cinema adverts (v6) centred on raising revenue at the expense of reduced

autonomy over computer use. Film adverts offer information on 'choice' to students, but this does not have moral significance. This would occur where there is an extension of autonomy. However, the vignette commentaries express resentment that both teacher and student classroom autonomy is reduced by business involvement. In DCR terms, implicit in this resentment is an emancipatory axiology concerned with removing the ills or constraints upon human freedom. The presence of a business deal involves absences (absence of 'teacher-in-the-classroom' autonomy, absence of student care and protection from consumerism, or absence of sufficient tax revenue for school resources), and since all absences can be seen as constraints, then the real definition of dialectic is 'absenting absence' or 'absenting absentive agency or the axiology of freedom'(Bhaskar 1993: 176).

8.2.2 *Trust from business ethics to DCR*

Bowie (1999: 31) also examines trust, and in the form of a syllogism argues that managers should both build trust, in the interests of a business, but that managers also have an obligation to stakeholders to build trust. He then draws on the work of several business ethicists to expound on how trust reduces transaction costs. As he explains:

In non-trusting relationships the supervisor functions as policeman. In a trusting relationship the supervisor functions as a mentor, the way a professor functions with a doctoral student. Such mentoring relationship permits the use of qualitative data and it reduces the amount of quantitative data, the frequency of evaluation, and the amount of detail. All of this saves time and money (ibid.: 35).

This, as was mentioned earlier, involves an instrumental approach to the value of trust that Bottery (2000a:71) rejects. In the deliberations about who

trusts whom prior to and during an Ofsted inspection (v2 and v8), there is a display of what Bottery (2004: 105) terms 'calculative trust', a logic of risk, and this he argues is an increasingly dominant form of trust used by managers and government. It has tended to replace 'role trust' which sees the professional as displaying underpinning values such as do not harm, as can be readily acknowledged. Two other forms of trust, 'practice' and 'identificatory', have a greater ethical component. The first is built on interpersonal knowledge and understanding, rather than calculation and role position, and develops through practice. The second builds on these ethical and affective aspects and is displayed in the form of a commitment. A school internal market (v8) reconfigures relations around 'calculative trust'. Naming and shaming (v7) destroys any semblance of 'role trust', whilst some of the disquiet expressed about the C/D border (v4) stems from an interruption of 'practice trust' between teacher and student. But throughout the commentaries on all the vignettes and in particular the weekend away (v5), there is an absence of 'identificatory trust'. Generally there was nothing to suggest a belief that the weekend would generate a trust that 'draws from an ethical base, but moves beyond any mechanical application to a complex intertwining of personal thoughts, feelings and values' (Bottery 2004: 110). In Appendix 16, they are arranged to correspond with Bhaskar's differentiations of trust, which are approximate rather than exact. There are also examples of comments where teachers are expressing a lack of trust in management processes and managers.

At this juncture it is possible to demonstrate from the table in Appendix 16 some of the potential merits in employing DCR in this sphere. Bottery's categories are dialectical in that the four aspects of trust are different stages in a hierarchical development of a trust relationship. But moving to Bhaskar's categories offers several effects (see glossary Appendix 19). First, the

categories are nested in the MELD system (i) Abstract trust in expert systems of which one has no knowledge – the 1M of non-identity or alterity; (ii) Mediated trust in domains of knowledge in which one is an active participant 2E; (iii) Concrete trust which is exemplified in solidarity, the 3L of totality; (iv) Personal, context-sensitive trust which involves friendly, caring and nurturing relationships of 4D transformative agency.

Second, the concept of trust is allied to that of truth in that the latter carries a normative force in the notion, 'trust me – act on the basis of it' (Bhaskar 1994: 62). Of the four aspects of truth that Bhaskar (1993: 217) outlines, this is the imperativ-fiduciary aspect (see glossary Appendix 19). (It is one of the four components of the judgement form, the truth tetrapolity and the ethical tetrapolity (ibid.: 177, 217, 262). This explicitly brings together facts and values and identifies trust as an important component in any explanatory critique, but of especial significance here in regard to managerialism. The data in Appendix 16 for mediated trust demonstrates how Judith does not 'trust' Ofsted assessors, especially in regard to the 'truth' of their statements. Bhaskar (1993: 263) claims that the substance of the fiduciary remark 'prefigur[es] a society based on a normative order of trust' which 'underpins the triadic relationship between self- and mutual esteem as well as existential security' (ibid.: 406). Judith's self-esteem and existential security is challenged by Ofsted as the inspection process both denies as well as undermines the necessary care and solidarity needed for these components. In contrast to Bottery (2004), these four aspects of trust are systematically situated by dialectical process into a network of further related concepts that then provides perspective on what is present, absent, or contradictory. Leading on from this is a third point, that the dialectic facilitates, in a hermeneutic sense, 'the fusion of meaning-frames' (Bhaskar 1993: 176) which can issue in a resolution of the problems of trust and mistrust. Bottery's 'gardening

metaphor’ neatly summarises the ‘practice of trust’ between the managed and management. Jasons’ reference to this shows an evident lack of trust between the two and an appeal for trust. It is suggested by management that the truth is that ‘shooting’ at each other prior to the inspection should cease because it leads to a self-inflicted wound. The manager’s remark or expressively veracious judgement aims for concrete solidarity, truth and trust, but there is also a ‘moment of the dialectic of mutual recognition of, and action in accordance with, shared *contra-central* interests in the fragmented *periphery*’ (ibid.: 263). This is a ‘totalising depth praxis moment’ where those of the core and periphery of the institution find ‘identity through difference and unity in diversity’ (ibid.: 263). In summary the application of DCR opens up, extends further, and seeks to resolve the lack of, and desire for, trust.

To give a further illustration, consider Figure 8.1 reproduced below which depicts Codd’s (1999) two types of accountability:

External accountability	Internal accountability
<i>Low -trust</i>	<i>High-trust</i>
Hierarchical (line) control	Delegated professional responsibility
Contractual compliance	Commitment, loyalty, sense of duty, expertise
Formal process of reporting and recording for line management	Accountable to multiple constituencies
Reduced moral agency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethic of neutrality ▪ Ethic of structure 	Enhanced moral agency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Deliberation ▪ Discretion

Figure 8.1. Two types of accountability (Codd 1999)

External accountability as represented in managerialist methods stems from low trust and is autonomy reducing. The ethic of neutrality, according to

Thompson (1985), involves a member of an organisation deferring the making of a moral decision to a greater authority under claim that it is not within their remit. This is different from 'ethical neutrality' (Fisher and Lovell 2003: 151) where, as one of eight stances, it suggests getting the job 'done quietly' as well as not taking action.

The ethic of structure involves refuting any moral responsibility claiming that existing political structures and power relations prevent action. In contrast internal accountability is based on high trust and is autonomy enhancing. Ethical problems are actively addressed through deliberation and reflection though either collective or individual discretion. In DCR terms the contractual compliance of external accountability involves 'abstract trust', whereas commitment, loyalty, sense of duty, and expertise of internal accountability involves 'concrete trust'. Closely related to trust is reflexivity, which is 'the inwardised form of totality' (Bhaskar 1993: 403), and this is necessary for there to be genuine accountability. In Appendix 16, Judith self-consciously monitors her activities in relation to Ofsted and deliberates internally on the lack of trust she holds for the inspection process. Part of her disquiet stems from the greater emphasis on external 'contractual compliance' rather than the internal 'commitment and expertise' she has personally developed over a long and well established career. Her own reflexive monitoring is secondary to "*being judged by your inferiors*".

The focus of CR is to explain and criticise these underlying structures and mechanisms of accountability. But it also has an over-riding purpose to effect emancipation which 'if we take the goal of human freedom to be human autonomy then what is to be liberated is the concrete self so that a genuine self-determination is obtained' (Bhaskar 1993: 278). Thus in a critique of these two forms of accountability there is both an implicit and explicit object of

emancipation. In practical terms this entails absencing the depthlessness associated with performativity measures.

Approaching both Bottery's and Codd's schemas through a CR perspective raises questions about, and helps in the explanation of, such concerns as: What degree of trust is presupposed in the truth of the accountability? What degree of reflexivity and solidarity is being allowed? What are the lack of freedoms or constraints?

8.2.3 *'Othering' as discussed in business ethics, and alterity within DCR*

The following is a sample of observations made by the managed about their management in discussions around vignette two and a vote of no confidence in Ofsted and the award of a bonus. They present issues of recognition and involve contempt for management, which is one of a range of kinds of 'othering':

John: You show us loyalty and we'll show you loyalty. It works both ways loyalty does. Too often it's a one way street and no loyalty from management.

Judith: No I would not feel comfortable [with management getting a bonus]. I would be really outraged. Because I did all the hard work.

June: Because, yes, of the distance of the teacher and the deputy. It shouldn't be.

Brendan: Management are always a problem, they are never seen by staff as doing as well as they could or they should, and they are often seen by staff as inadequate.

Here management is varyingly set up as the 'other' by lacking loyalty, being selfish with an undeserved bonus , being distant and "always a problem". This practice of 'othering' is moral boundary drawing, where the 'other' is presented as less moral or even immoral. This is reinforced in the following exchange:

Sean: Do you think that someone that goes into management will have a lower ethics threshold?

Mikala: Oh God yes!

In more recent and postmodern business ethics texts the concept of 'the Other' has been discussed by drawing on the work of Levinas and Bauman. Taking our relation to the Other as the starting point of ethics, questions are raised as to how we should treat people we encounter. Jones et al. (2005: 76) suggest four possibilities , '(1) we can treat them as objects; (2) we can treat them as the Same; (3) we can treat them as others; (4) we can treat them as an Other'. Treating people as objects is the criticism levelled at managerialism, enacted by the management towards the managed. Treating people as the same means that we view someone else as someone who shares similar characteristics and desires as me. This however denies a real otherness, the fact that someone may not be just a mirror image of me and may have 'really different ideas and needs' (ibid.: 75). It is Levinas' contention that we should recognise 'otherness' but break from reducing the other to the same. Instead there should be an opening up where the other person is not just another person but displays radical otherness. Some of the disdain for management performativity measures stems from the denial of qualities of radical otherness. As Judith mentions (in Appendix 16) Ofsted assessments deny the

uniqueness of her extensive experience and longstanding achievements. In between her three Ofsted inspections there is no acknowledgement of her accumulating more 'positive' skills and knowledge. This is not to make a postmodern claim of being a 'radical other' but to acknowledge the concrete universal that is common grounds of each teacher within a concrete singularity rather than accentuating some abstract universal. In pre- and post-Ofsted time periods she is treated as being the same, the abstract universal. This is a further instance of 'depthlessness' which results from the fallacy of actualism. As a result, the managed suggest they are treated by management as objects, and through measurement are homogenised into the same, whilst the managed treat the management as others. There is little potential for option four above, of treating people as the radical 'Other', when social relations between manager and managed are increasingly kept to a distance.

Bauman (1993:125) has used the concept of adiaphorisation to indicate a process of creating moral distance. In relation to organisations, Desmond (1998: 178) explains: 'Even though we may be physically proximate to the other, we objectify them by effacing their moral "face"'. This has both external and internal consequences. First, removing the face of those outside the organisation, removes any moral responsibility towards them and redirects employees to concentrating on the 'effective' completion of internal tasks. The head teacher who 'fixes' the new intake cohort (v1), removes the face of those children denied places, and with utilitarian justification this concentrates the staff on producing results with *"the intellectually cleansed"* (Alex). Second, moral distance engineered within the organisation enables managers to reduce or remove their responsibility towards the managed. For example, the casualisation of ALS staff (v3), creates a moral distance, enabling the school management to reduce their responsibilities towards those now on the periphery of the school. Therefore, ethics is reduced to being contractual and

the two sides become strangers rather than seeing themselves in a relationship with moral responsibilities to each other. As Hugman (2005: 110) explains: "The moral response to "the Other" cannot be limited, reduced to contract, treated as a commodity or ever be seen to be finished; nor does it depend on who "the Other" is or what "the Other" does'. Therefore, turning ALS staff into contractual peripherals is considered unethical for both the staff involved, those left in the core, and for the students. In a related fashion, adopting teaching assistants was also considered unethical on grounds that utilitarian 'cheapness' and de-skilling diminished the ontological worth of full time teachers. In both cases this moral disquiet, expressed in DCR terms, relates to staff being split-off from a totality of internal 'school community' relations. In this splitting-off a manager is producing an 'othering' of some of the managed and this renders them of different moral worth. But it also affects social relations between the managed as they too demote their recognition to peripherals. For example, as Liam states: "*I really don't know how to feel about this because they are not really teachers [...]. I would like them to be full time because I would like them to be part of the school community.*" Further as Brendan, an ALS teacher, declared from personal experience: "*The support staff are marginal in nearly every school I have been. The common comment is 'well you're not a real teacher'.*"

These are also issues of alterity and change (non-identity and processuality), where alterity is absence qua product and change is absence qua causality and process. Thus the difference with teaching assistants is a lack of similar training and qualifications and the casualisation of ALS is a process of absenting their full time status. For the ALS staff this creates 'ephemerality' as they are not 'of' the school. Allied to alterity is the concept of heterology, where the former meaning difference is equated with the latter meaning not the same as, not true of or not true for itself. This is useful in explaining what

is a double 'othering' of the managers by the managed in a double moral boundary drawing. First there is the kind of 'othering' based on the contempt that managers work lacks authenticity and is even parasitic on the real work of teaching. This is a moral boundary claim that will be developed later in §8.3. But then there is also the kind of 'othering' based on heterology in that managers are operating as if they were in a business but in fact it is not the same, hence the school is being treated heterologously or untruly to itself. As Keith quipped: *"I always love the belief from the top that "If I were in the private sector I would be paid twice as much." And my attitude is of course why don't you go to the private sector then?"*

Here Keith challenges the assumption of a homology between schools and business and suggests a deficiency in school managers that ignore the difference between the two. The alterity of managers, therefore, is constructed by drawing a moral boundary where their expression of a homology between business and schools is a denial of the alterity that exists especially with respect to ethics, issuing in heterology. Keith is also suggesting that remuneration rather than commitment becomes the basis for work.

This moral boundary that rejects and devalues management as 'others' also pronounces that the merits claimed for the managed as a group should be universally valid. For example, a human concern for students should emanate from both the managed and the management, but the latter are outside this moral boundary with their accounting concern for cost cutting. In turn this moral boundary drawing serves to reproduce a distance between the two and the 'othering' becomes self-reinforcing.

8.2.4 On recognition

The concept of recognition that I am employing in its basic form amounts to the desire for a reciprocal understanding of the worth of, and a trust in, each other. In CR terms this is presented as an axiological necessity or basic human need which is manifest in primary polyadisation. This refers to the process where the human infant learns acts of referential detachment between herself and the rest of the world, which through a recognition of alterity, is 'necessary for individuation, hence self-identity' (Bhaskar 1993: 402). It is developed in a dialectic of care, solidarity and trust, all of which are arguably diminished by managerial processes. For recognition to be successful it needs to be freely given, not one sided, embrace both deeds as well as words and be conducted amongst equals. Again managerial processes impinge on these, especially where spaces for recognition amount to routinised performance feedback, 'handed' down in a format of 'words' from the dominant to the dominated. Throughout this introductory account I have provided data on what are examples of master-slave relations, and I develop this in the next section.

8.3 Ethical Beliefs of the Managed about the Management

Danermark et al. (2002: 139) lament the division of labour between theorists and empirical researchers and recommend that the latter redress this by integrating abstract theory into their analysis. But they warn against using general theories that 'attempt to integrate all knowledge in an all-embracing system', as a lack of depth and explanatory power may result in our understanding of specific social structures and mechanisms. In addition they

tend to be totalising as disparate empirical data are incorporated into the same system. Instead they argue theories should open up, and:

They should not be used to classify reality from pre-arranged systems but rather inform analyses, interpretations and explanations of the social reality. Social reality is a complex reality, consisting of different ontological levels and a variety of structures with their own specific properties. Different theories partly complement each other, since they focus on different levels, structures and qualities. Trying to integrate them in an all embracing system seems futile' (Danermark 2002: 140).

Given this sound advice, it will be noted that in the previous two chapters that the theoretical typologies adopted from the business ethics literature were not employed entirely in a classificatory way but were also used to explain 'comprehensive social processes at a macro-' as well as 'foundational (transfactual) social structures and mechanisms level (ibid.: 139)'. Correctly Bottery expresses caution about using such 'business management theory' to assess how schools should or should not be managed. For as Thrupp and Willmott (2003) have argued there is plenty of 'educational managerialist theory' that rehearse a critique of managerial processes but in doing so sustains its practice. Instead the analysis in this section proceeds through a framework of three theorems taken from Bhaskar's Dialectic. These are (1) Four-planar social being or human nature, which provides a framework for considering the ethical dimensions of managed/management relations; (2) The master-slave dialectic, which embraces the notions described by the managed of exploitation, domination, subjugation and control by the management; and (3) The levels of rationality, which provides steps for evaluating the types of rationality that managerialism prioritises and absents. Some concepts from the business ethics literature are also employed but are interrogated from a DCR perspective.

8.3.1 *Four-planar social being or human nature, incorporating the social cube*

A sense of distance and a lack of trust between the managed and the management in schools has been widely reported and the evidence presented so far serves as an endorsement to this situation. One way of capturing the ethical beliefs of teachers that have emerged about management is to employ Bhaskar's (1993: 160) model of four-planar social being. The four planes are:

- [a] the plane of material transactions with nature;
- [b] the plane of inter-/intra-subjective (personal) actions;
- [c] the plane of social relations;
- [d] the plane of the subjectivity of the agent.

These four interdependent planes of social life are presented as a theory of human nature which is a necessary condition of any moral discourse. There are three distinct but interrelated components to this model of human nature:

- (i) a common human nature, grounded in genetic structure and manifested in certain species wide capacities (e.g. language use); (ii) a historically specific nature, of a quite highly differentiated kind, whose development was initiated at the time and place of birth, deriving from class, gender, occupational positions, experience, etc., shared in common with other agents subject to the same general determinants; (iii) a more or less unique individuality (Bhaskar 1986:208).

All three aspects of this human nature are changing and changeable, of which (i) the core universal nature, is changing far more slowly. It is on these four planes that changes are worked out, where there are a 'multiple and conflicting determinations and mediations' (Bhaskar 1993: 160).

Planes [b] and [c] are conceptualised as the social cube, comprising (1) power, (2) discursive/communicative, and (3) normative/moral relations, intersecting in (4) ideology, which legitimises and discursively moralises power relations, and appear as sides in a cubic stretch-flow. This depiction overcomes the conflation of social structure with human agency and suggests the 'spatial spread' of social processes as well as a 'temporal stretch or flow' (ibid.: 160). What Bhaskar is providing here is something useful in capturing and analysing the 'processuality' rather than the 'product' of social relations under managerialism. Here there is a counteraction to the Humean view that 'mankind are so much the same in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange' (Bhaskar 1986: 289). This view is 'fixist and eternised' (Hartwig 2007 forthcoming: 139) whereas the Bhaskarian model with its 'space-time cubic stretch or flow' (Bhaskar 1993: 13) sets out to capture the flow and change of human nature and social relations in moments that are internally related. This can be harnessed to examine the historical arrival and pervasive influence of managerialism. As Hartwig (ibid.: 139) explains, the model has no independent meaning but is 'acting as a placeholder for, and awaiting filling by, substantive scientific descriptions'. The four-planar model presupposes

that all social action, everything we do, has to be captured in terms of all four planes of social being. It has to be captured in its material aspect in terms of our transactions with nature; it has to be captured in its relational aspect, that is in terms of our transactions with other human beings; it has to be captured in terms of its systemic social structural aspect; and finally it has to be captured in its subjective aspect in terms of the stratification of our own personalities (Bhaskar 2002a:100).

Material transactions with nature [a], refers to any exchange of energy with the material world and is more readily interpreted as 'making things'. In the

context of the school as an organisation this has little direct relevance, although it is often quipped that the paperwork required under managerialism must be destroying the Brazilian rainforests. Our personal relations with each other [b] encompass themes raised in the previous discussion of recognition, autonomy, trust, and 'othering' between the managed and management. The deliberations over whether to take a vote of no confidence in the management during an Ofsted inspection (v2) provides examples of issues on this dimension. On the plane of social relations [c], attention is given to the role of power and discursive and normative relations at the level of social institutions. This is where the discursive role of managerialism as an ideology intersects and the structural reshaping of 'school institutional being' is played out. Whether or not there should be film adverts in the classroom (v6) raises 'thin end of the wedge' issues that business may be colonising the social relations in school. Lastly, on the plane of agent subjectivity [d] the focus is on a stratified concept of the person. Bhaskar provides a model of the stratified subject starting at a biological substratum with layers of reflexivity up to inter-/intra-subjectivity. The scrutiny of an Ofsted inspection (v2 and v8), or naming and shaming (v7) impose practices of self-reflection and accountability to which this dimension refers.

Analysing the vignette discussions through these four planes directs attention through dialectical links with three ethical concepts that I explore each in turn, namely: power, ideology, and alienation.

8.3.1.1 Power

Bhaskar (1993: 402), defines two concepts of power:

Power₁ is the transformative capacity intrinsic to the concept of action as such, whereas power₂ is the capacity to get one's own way against either the overt wishes and/or the real interests of others in virtue of structures of exploitation, domination, subjugation and control, i.e. generalised master-slave type relations.

In short, power₁ refers to possibilities in human agency and power₂ refers to structurally instantiated forms of domination (see glossary Appendix 19). To illustrate this with examples in relations of managed to management. With reference to the previously mentioned help that Brenda gave (page 251) she exercises her power₁ of care to help a student get ALS support (v3), and a place in extra upgrade lessons (v4), in spite of the power₂ control that restricted the availability of teachers and access to places. In doing so Brenda negated the absence of support and the conditional rules attached to entry. Here we observe Brenda at the level of personal relations [plane b] with intersubjective care for a student, and her intra-subjective motivation to do the best for her tutees. On the level of social relations [plane c], she flouts the management rules and 'smuggles in the student' for support and lessons. In terms of the social cube her normative understanding is that she has a deontological duty of care that supersedes the utilitarian ethic handed down by management. At the level of her own subjectivity [plane d], amongst many aspects, one feature she discusses is her pride in championing student success, and she reflected, *"it's worked but it could have so easily not have worked for him, he got to see the turning point."* Similarly both Earl and Judith, critical of the power₂ relations of Ofsted inspections (v2), expressed reservation about using collective power₁ to complain to Ofsted inspectors about management. As Earl explained, *"it would be very difficult for someone who is sort of critical of the Ofsted process to therefore use the process to their own benefit."* There was a strong desire from Earl and Judith and indeed several others that Ofsted should be absented, but they saw an ethical contradiction in expecting that the power₂ domination by Ofsted would help to remove or improve power₂

domination by management. As Judith declared: *"I have got no belief in that Ofsted failure would result in better management. It might result in different management but I have no confidence it would result in better management."* At plane [b], communication with management and Ofsted inspectors is morally fraught. At [c] there is disdain for the structures and power₂ relations of Ofsted. At [d] a lack of power₁ is described as emancipation from management and Ofsted appears impossible.

What is to be gained by analysing power in this way? First, this is a conception of power that differs from that of Foucault which is often used in CPA. Olssen et al. (2004: 24) provide a useful summary that distinguishes Foucault's concept from the Marxist and liberal theories of power:

The three features of this model are (1) that power is possessed (for example, by the state, classes, individuals); (2) that power flows from a centralised source, from top to bottom; and (3) that power is primarily repressive in its exercise. In contrast, Foucault's alternative conception maintains (4) that power is exercised rather than possessed; (5) that power is productive, as well as repressive; and (6) that power arises from the bottom up.

Clearly, no distinction is made in Foucault's conception between power₁ and power₂. Power₁, which is the 'transformative capacity analytic to the concept of agency', does not connect in Foucauldian terms as he refers to power as 'running through' and 'in play' with agency. Power₂ which refers to entirely negative characteristics also differs from this conception of power as productive as well as repressive. It is understood in CR that power₂ can be abolished, but power₁ cannot, and this leads to claims for emancipation. But second and following on, policy as 'a regime of truth', where power and knowledge are inextricably related, may be oppressive but it is assumed to be inevitable and inescapable. In contrast, as MacLennan and Thomas (2003:172)

argue, 'the critical realist model of power provides the theoretical motivation for a struggle with power₂'. This drives CPA to critique the mechanisms behind power₁ and seek to remove or transform the structures of oppression constituting power₂, for example in identifying the mechanisms Brenda employs to get things done for her students (power₁) along with structures of her domination and control (power₂) that need to be removed. Similarly, the capacity of Earl and Judith to get things done for Ofsted (power₁) is considered as affording possibilities to achieve their desire to absent its domination (power₂). Indeed, at the centre of vignette two is a challenge to consider that power₁ possibilities in the form of a vote of no confidence collective action may transform the power₂ domination of management. What this section has done is to present a DCR account of power which is necessary for any understanding of the dialectic between the managed and management. Now we need to turn to an account of ideology.

8.3.1.2 Ideology

In the tradition of Marxist ideology critique, Bhaskar operates with a 'general concept of ideologies as lived systems of false or inadequate ideas which can be explained or situated in terms of the historically specific power₂ relations they function to screen and legitimate and a restricted concept whereby the ideas involved are fundamental category mistakes' (Hartwig 2007f: 143). To illustrate this at the general level. Underpinning the following criticism of management there is a sense of a mistaken ideology or a false consciousness on their part in play. For example comments are made that the management are "*bean counters*" (John) or that one may be "*misled by management*" (Liam) or that "*People keep on interfering with it [work practices] and making you do silly things*" (Judith). Here we have managerialist ideology understood by the

managed as a false consciousness. The term false consciousness may seem objectionable as Hay (2002: 179) argues:

This opens the Pandora's box that is the concept of false consciousness. The problem with such a formulation is the deeply condescending conception of the social subject as an ideological dupe that it conjures. Not only is this wretched individual incapable of perceiving her/his true interests, pacified as s/he is by hallucinogenic effects of bourgeois (or other) indoctrination. But, to confound matters, rising above the ideological mists which tame the masses is the enlightened academic who from a high perch in the ivory tower may look down to discern the genuine interests of those not similarly privileged.

But in contrast in CR, as Sayer (2000:48) explains, to refuse to accept the idea of ideology would mean a performative contradiction: 'you are falsely conscious in believing the possibility of false consciousness'. Further he explains, 'Every time we argue with someone, we presuppose the possibility of either party being wrong, i.e. falsely conscious' (ibid.: 48). What Sayer finds objectionable is the relativism that appears to 'have the virtue of being egalitarian and open-minded' (ibid.: 48) and assumes 'that because all people should be regarded as equal, their epistemological beliefs should also be afforded equal status. Therefore, no one can be falsely conscious. But, as he stresses, 'social and moral equality does not entail epistemological equality' (ibid.: 48). More importantly, on the CR account only social subjects themselves can come to perceive what their real interests are – no-one can do it for them; and the pulse of freedom beats in the breast of all. To return to the examples given from the data above, the assertion I make is that the managed frequently speak in terms of the management possessing a false consciousness, although they do not use this term. If this is 'condescension', it is from below, not on high, and potentially liberatory.

To move from the general to the restrictive sense of ideology as categorical error, this is expressed in Brenda's comment that "*business is business [and] education is education.*" To treat schools as if they are a business conflates two radically different things, and Brenda's emphatic refutation of this is also a stance against what Bhaskar theorises as a 'Tina formation'. Named ironically after Mrs Thatcher's slogan, 'There is no alternative', it refers to something which is half true and half false, or 'a truth in practice combined or held in tension with a falsity in theory' (Bhaskar 2002: 84) (see glossary Appendix 19). If it is true that schools are a business and we are operating at that level, whether we know it or not, then of necessity we must act in accordance with that truth. But "*education is education*" and the practice of managing schools as if they were a business, combines falsity and truth in a complex way. As Bhaskar (2002: 202) explains: 'The nature of the relationship between the true and the false is crucial. Thus the false theory depends on, presupposes in practice, the true one; even though the false one may dominate and even occlude the alethically true component of the totality which is the particular Tina formation'. Brenda exposes the complex ideological figure of a theory-practice inconsistency, which is where a false theory presupposes in practice a truth which it denies. Thus assuming "schools are a business"(false theory) presupposes that "*business is business [and] education is education*", but its practical involvement into schools will obstruct the truth of "*education is education.*" .

As indicated above, on the model of the social cube (which elaborates on planes [c] and [b] of the model of four-planar social being), ideology intersects with its three other dimensions, namely power, the discursive [plane c of social relations]/communicative [plane b of personal relations] and the normative [c] and the moral [b] (Bhaskar 1993: 161). Here ideology functions to secure social cohesion and moral legitimacy in the context of generalised

master-slave type relations. The effect of ideologies, explain Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:26) in their discussion of critical discourse analysis, resides 'in ironing out (i.e., suppressing) aspects of practices [and this] is what links ideologies to "mystification" and "misrecognition"'. They discuss ideologies as discursive constructions and how the discourse of one practice can colonise or be appropriated by another, and go on to explain that (ibid.: 27)

managerial ideologies in education are discursive constructions of education which draw upon discourses which come from other practices that are closely tied with contemporary practices of education – specifically from economic practices. Notice that ideology conceived in terms of relations between practices 'refers to a function or mechanism but is not tied to any particular content nor any particular agent or interest' (Barrett 1991: 167).

The CDA of Chouliaraki and Fairclough thus moves beyond narrow textual categories to a link with social practice, ideology and hegemony. The most ideological discourses are those that give a distorted representation of reality and contribute to maintaining relations of domination. They see the role of CDA, which is a form of explanatory critique, as uncovering as well as helping to subvert the practices which sustain relations of domination, and 'by showing proto-theories to be miscognitions and producing scientific theories which may be taken up within (enter struggles within) the practices' (ibid.: 33). For example, Judith claimed above, that management theories lead to an *"interference to make you do silly things"*. She denounced the endless and unnecessary form filling, target setting and conducting pointless student tutorials, concluding: *"Things like that, they keep messing up the core business and stopping you producing the product really, in order to do something that is current fashion as far as Ofsted is concerned."* She feels dominated by an ideological distortion of what schooling is, propagated by business measurements, and desires their removal. The economic jargon is used to ironic effect as she

claims what might be judged as a satisfactory business outcome is best achieved without a business discourse. As she bemoans: *"What the students want is decent exam results, I try and deliver it and the college tries and sabotages it."* Absent from the tick-boxing is the necessary concept of care, but present is a false concept of 'effectiveness' as depicted in league tables. On both planes of social [c] and personal [b] relations, Judith feels the business ideology splits her off from what she wants to do for herself and her students, from the management, and from the institution. This is a sense of alienation, the next concept linked with the social cube.

8.3.1.3 Alienation

Alienation 'means being something other than, (having been) separated, split, torn or estranged from oneself, or what is essential and intrinsic to one's nature or identity' (Bhaskar 1993: 114). It does not refer to some fixed inner self and one's actual self but to what one has essentially become or is thwarted from becoming and is socially obliged to be. Judith's disquiet, mentioned above, about being judged by Ofsted inspectors according to *"fashion, it's a matter of flavour of the month"*, and being interfered with by management requiring her to do *"silly things"* conveys a sense of constraint on well being, or ill. In Appendix 17 Table 17.1 gives examples of 'fivefold alienation' which Bhaskar (1993: 168) links with the four planes of social being of which plane [a] is divided into two aspects and the fifth form is self-alienation at 1M (numbered (1) to (5) in the row on alienation).

This schema provides more than a mere description of teacher alienation, as the five dimensions draw attention to causal mechanisms along the planes of social being (planes d to a in row one). As an emancipatory philosophy this is

central to CR and the function of critical social science is to bring about a removal of these constraints on well-being. In Table 17.2 of Appendix 17 some commentaries are provided which illustrate a need and desire to experience at-oneness with the natural world and our labour process (4D, plane a), with each other (3L, plane b), our social relations (2E, plane c) and our essential selves (1M, plane d). But in all these respects we are split, and managerialism is presented as a prime cause in the data selected, where there is also a strong desire for de-alienation. A further two aspects of the schema is that it connects with truth and forms of alienated consciousness. Alienation is bound up with an absence of truth and the examples in Table 17.2 in Appendix 17, are teacher expressions about the untruths that managerialism generates; whilst the four forms of alienated or split consciousness directs attention to features that influence the consciousness of agents but is beyond their grasp. I now discuss the teacher commentaries each in turn under the headings of the fivefold form of alienation and with reference to the other concepts in Table 17.2 in Appendix 17 with the aim of showing how the concept of alienation can be mapped out across the data but also to suggest that alienation is the sharpest form of difference which presupposes identification and unity.

1. [d] Alienation from ourselves (IM)

The disquiet Mikala feels about 'massaging the figures' was also expressed at length by Judith. Completing management induced paperwork necessitates 'cutting corners', and the resulting fabrications are discussed by Ball (2003:224; Ball 2006a:152):

Fabrications are versions of an organisation (or person) which does not exist – they are not 'outside the truth' but neither do they render simply true or direct accounts – they are produced purposefully in order 'to be accountable'. Truthfulness is not the

point – the point is their effectiveness, both in the market for inspection or appraisal, and in the ‘work’ they do ‘on’ and ‘in’ the organisation – their transformational and disciplinary impact.

The alienation from ourselves arises as the ontological truth of our being becomes distorted as self-audits as well as organisational ones construct our subjectivity. Here there is a split of the individual from the totality of the organisation as individual paperwork gets written up, a split from one’s own morality for organisational effectiveness and a split of the monitoring ‘facts’ about students from the ‘values’ associated with their care. This is extrajection which splits the world from thoughts about it.

2. [c] Alienation from our social relations (2E)

At the level of stakeholder social relations, Liam castigates management for propagating retrojection, which is the splitting of geo-historical change from the present. Taking a vote of no confidence action against management he considers justifiable if they continue to split off past and present teachers and students. His complaint is against comments such as: *“The Head can do what he wants, its his school.”* Social relations can become transfixed by the power and personality of a head teacher in what is a micro-process of eternisation. This denies the fact that head teachers are also embodied personalities interconnected with other human beings and the world, and not some independent charismatic leader that will go on forever. There is a danger that their ‘fame’ will be seen as permanent, and the desire and need of past and present staff and students to experience at-oneness is split off by ‘maverick policies’. As mentioned previously (see §6.4), Liam evaluated that removing the head teacher, which led to three years of special measures misery at his school, was an acceptable trade-off in order to preserve its 125 year history.

As a result, social relations within the school, LEA and community, became to some extent de-alienated. As Liam summed up, *"kids are happier in every sense, and further many who were misled by management are becoming better people again"*.

2. [b] Alienation from each other (3L). The policy of placing ALS staff on peripheral contracts further serves to marginalise the teachers involved and their expertise (v3). As June, an ALS teacher, explains, this not only splits her off from the core of the staff but also splits the whole staff. This is reinforced through introjection which 'splits the psyche, as when slaves identify with masters' (Hartwig 2007f: 27). In this case teachers demote support staff because this is the practice of management. Indeed, five teachers responded to vignette three with a counter attack on support staff. Clearly, this produces a lack of solidarity as teachers split each other off through their 'managerial evaluations' of each other. But the concept of co-presence directs attention to the co-occurrence of the absence and presence of something (see glossary Appendix 19). Thus alienation is present at the level of the actual but is absent at the level of the real. Teachers can be split off from each other in their actual practices, but at a deeper level they share a common essence and purpose; as June explained, *"we're all trained teachers"* and Brendan, *"they're all the same children."* This suggests the absence of recognition and solidarity and a mechanism of 'distance' between the managed and management. This is explored later in this chapter when Bauman's concept of adiaphorisation is discussed. Co-presence points towards the managed feeling that they are at a distance to management but yet interdependent with each other; that there is a coincidence and intermingling of individual teacher identity with the totality of teaching; of intersubjective solidarity and collegiality (core) with atomising activities (periphery); and of the co-inclusion of the presence, in a

Tina formation, of the false concept of the school as a business with the absence of the naturally necessary concept of the school as a community based on an ethic of care. In Bhaskar's elaboration of DCR in the philosophy of meta-Reality (2002a, b, c) the concept of co-presence is generalised 'such that everything is implicitly enfolded qua possibility, synchronically, within everything else without the reduction of externality and difference' (Hartwig 2007f: 51). Thus, the solution to alienation is to acknowledge that management and the managed are enfolded within each other; this will be discussed further in §8.3.2 on the master-slave dialectic.

4. [a] (i) Alienation from labour and its products (4D)

The comment from John in Table 17.2 in Appendix 17 [item 4 [a] (i)] is a re-affirmation of the importance of teacher agency, and is an attempt to counteract the alienation that splits off the role and value of teaching. Working solely at the behest of 'management' is a form of alienation as one is split from one's agency and its outcome, namely you perform just for the boss. Therefore, the claim is made here that the work of the managed is central, but that of management is dispensable. This is a re-assertion of the values of one's own labour as well as a diminution of management work as of less value and inauthentic. This is a theme that arises repeatedly and will be discussed in §8.4.1 and §8.4.2 on adiaphorisation. John's comment exhibits a form of projection as the mind is split from the body when 'performativity facts' become the extent of one's self-worth. And his scenario of imagining a day without management has an element of fantasy projection. Here there is a danger of double alienation as teachers are split from their outcomes as well as from the thought that the outcomes are attributable to them rather than entirely to management.

4. [a] (ii) Alienation from the means and materials of production

In its technical sense this refers to any interaction with the material world, but it may also mean anything that is used or worked on, in the sense of 'material cause', in order to produce an outcome, and it is taken in this sense here. In teaching, both teachers and students are involved in an interchange and production of knowledge, co-producing an outcome. Here Alex re-iterates a point made by three other teachers that Ofsted seems to be the only time where sufficient resources are made available. In fact Holly explained that it was the first time full information was given on classroom availability. Up until then she had been plagued with the instability of "*hot-class-rooming*" (Keith), a derisory term used to convey in management speak the ultimate flexible teaching environment. This is practical alienation, as the potentialities of a teacher are seen to be blocked.

5. Self-alienation

Going away on a 'business' weekend, Mandeep explained, is what his friends from university do now that they work in business. It is not what he entered teaching for, and it is not what he thinks should be happening in schools. To lose one's autonomy over the weekend would impinge on his account of his essential self. This occurs in two ways. First, conflict arises with the inner sense of the self as essentially free; to give up 'free' time, Mandeep explained, is against his inner nature and would certainly not be conducive to his human flourishing: *"To me work is work. Whether I want to be with people from work in private time should be up to me [...] this is stretching another weekend, the extra work load it seems like more stress."* Second, in the outer sense of the self, Mandeep does not want to be identified as being caught in the master-slave

relations that he believes characterise the business world. Not participating in the weekend away is to distance oneself from false business routines: *"I've got cousins who work in accounting firms and they do have these weekends and they are all happy. But it does not really appeal to me, that's how I think this sounds, sort of business."*

These fivefold forms of alienation corresponding to four-planar social being can also be linked with the different attitudes in the master–slave dialectic, and it is to this I turn in §8.3.2. This develops further a method of exploring the dimensions and complexities of the ethical beliefs that the managed hold about management. It also raises directly the issue of recognition between the two. To sum up, the four-planar model of social being keeps a focus on the dimensions that need consideration in order to understand social events such as those in the vignettes. What the individual teacher feels is affecting them [d], is affecting the other human beings [b], is affecting the natural environment and their relationship with the social structure [c] in terms of reproducing it or transforming it. This helps to capture the different sides of the emerging ethical beliefs about social relations. As Bhaskar (2002: 226) states:

So we have the phenomenon of the simultaneity of action, necessarily action by an agent, and therefore self-action, and social action, and a dialectic of self-change and social change. The only way we can change society is ultimately by our actions, and if they are erroneous or less than optimal, then ultimately we must change ourselves, and any way we act we will be affecting other human beings and the whole social structure. So there is a natural dialectic between the two.

But the model also helps to keep to the forefront that power and ideology are operating through planes [b] and [c] of the social cube. Furthermore, that

when a claim of alienation is made, the substantive areas to explore are already mapped out in terms of the fivefold schema.

8.3.2 *The Master–Slave Dialectic*

In this section I recount the model of the master-slave dialectic and argue that it offers a fundamental summary of the dialectic of management to managed relations. In the realm of business ethics Marvin Brown (2005) has drawn on Gilligan's (1993) work on the images of relationships as a way of exploring interpersonal integrity within the corporation. Four official images of work relationships are identified: the master-and-servant image, the market image, the team image and the entrepreneurial image. These are derived from phenomenological studies of people working in organisations where the 'official' work image of relationships is contrasted with the 'realistic' and the 'ideal' images. A traditional organisational chart sets out the official work image, from which the hierarchical elements tend to feature in depictions of realistic relationships. Asking students to draw realistic work relationships produces an image that shows 'a significant difference in size between persons, perhaps representing the differences between managers and workers' (Brown 2005: 75); whereas the ideal image 'pictures persons working together, as happens in work teams' (ibid.: 75). Brown considers how a performance review would be influenced by the four respective official work images. The master-and-servant image of relationship requires pleasing the boss. The market image consists of a bargaining between parties to get the best for themselves; the team image a 'co-operative conversation' for the sake of team performance. whilst the entrepreneurial image frames the discussion around 'networking and sharing ideas'. A summary of these four images appears in Figure 8.2, below, with an example of a vignette where this type of image surfaced.

Official work relationship	Explicit relationship	Implicit relationship	Vignette
Master-and-servant	Status or social class	Privilege/domination	v7 name and shame
Market	Competition	Co-operation	v8 a/b Ofsted sales
Team	Joint action	Adequate exchanges	v5 weekend away
Entrepreneurial	Unrelated self	Hidden support	v6 film adverts

Figure 8.2. Explicit and Implicit aspects of work relationships (Brown 2005: 84).

The prevailing work image conveyed in the vignette discussions is that of master-and-servant (slave) which is epitomised in naming and shaming (v7). In this scenario the dominant master exposes the inefficient slaves. For example, as Earl explained: *“Often its done that way because senior management have a problem with certain staff, may be their apparent failure may be used at getting at staff, but there are boundaries you cannot go.”* The idea conveyed here is that weak managers attack to defend their dominant social status.

The market image as presented in the internal market for Ofsted materials (v8b) was dismissed by all as inappropriate for relationships within schools, as it demotes co-operation and makes competition explicit. A team image where co-operation becomes explicit is the most favoured, but it should happen in schools and not in a weekend away (v5). The entrepreneurial image is that of an unrelated or isolated self, who seizes opportunities, such as a film adverts deal (v6). Implicitly this requires a supportive network, of which there was little offered for a head teacher’s independent fixing of the new intake cohort. Taking this prevailing master–slave image further, I want

to employ the generalised account that Bhaskar has developed in his dialectical works. Following a critique of the Hegelian and Marxist version of the master–slave trope, Bhaskar (1994: 229) argues that the concept should be used ‘to include all relations of exploitation, domination, subjugation and control’ as it maps certain general attitudes but also pinpoints the unfreedom of wage-earners. It is generalisable to all socially structured power relations such as those of gender, race, and age through which agents, groups or classes get their way ‘against (i) the overt wishes and/or (ii) the real interests of others (grounded in their concrete singularities)’ (Bhaskar 1993: 153). Since class relations are central to this figure (O’Neil 1998: 106 ; Sayer 2005: 66), to depict school level social relations in terms of it is unfamiliar. But Bhaskar is making a statement about modern societies and the multi-form constraints to which they give rise, and argues that any truth statement ‘can be seen to imply a commitment to the project of universal human emancipation, involving the abolition of the totality of master–slave relations’ (Bhaskar 1993: 180). Thus constraints articulated by the managed express a conatus to freedom. ‘The desire to overcome constraints (including especially constraints: See glossary Appendix 19) on the satisfaction of desires, wants (causally efficacious beliefs) and needs (what is necessary to an agents survival and flourishing) implies a conatus or tendency: to knowledge of all four planes of the social tetrapolity at the hub of which I placed the social cube’ (ibid.: 180), thence to the removal of constraints that such knowledge helps to make possible. In employing this trope, management-managed relationships are situated in an expanded framework of contemporary capitalist relations and a project of emancipation. As such management themselves are in a dialectic with the ‘masters of policy’ and this was acknowledged by several teachers and on occasions teachers sympathised with the demands of being a manager. For example, as Mikala explained: *“I would hate to be in senior management for who knows what pressures would turn me into fear and paranoia”*.

But concentrating on the management-managed master-slave relationship is presented here as an alternative to the social justice audit conducted by Gewirtz (2002: Ch 7). The framework taken from Young (1990), comprising the five faces of oppression – exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence – is employed by Gewirtz to audit both the distributional and relational aspects of social justice. The master-slave dialectic encompasses similar themes but focuses on power relations implicated in the four-planar dimensions of social being via their discursive moralisation and ideological legitimation. Therefore, in contrast to Gewirtz, the master-slave trope concentrates on the mechanisms of a dialectical struggle for recognition between managed and management, and on the alienation that arises, and highlights underpinning moral ideologies. Further, through a commitment to universal human emancipation it involves the abolition of the totality of master-slave relations.

To illustrate Bhaskar's model I refer largely to the commentary given by Brenda, and then draw out the benefits of its deployment. Following this, I consider two related issues: (i) adiaphorisation or the process of distance between the managed and management; and (ii) management work as inauthentic.

The master-slave dialectic as derived from Brenda's commentary

A recurrent theme from all the teachers was a feeling that their relations with management involved 'exploitation, domination, subjugation and control'. But at one point Brenda recognised a dialectical bind between the managed and managers:

Brenda commentary A

Sean: But that retreat, do you find for yourself it is something you are uncomfortable about?

Brenda: No. I think I probably did in the beginning but I think less so now [...] I realise that the people who keep these management cultures are me [...]. I'll do my job [...] to the best of my ability [...]. I feel I have got more focus on my students now, not half an eye on the institution.

Particular strands of this dialectical position can be translated into the Bhaskarian master–slave dialectic, (Bhaskar 1994: 229). (The elements of Brenda's commentary A appear italicised in parenthesis):

- (a) Stoicism as indifference to such relations on the part of the oppressed subjects (or slaves) (*self-consciousness of the struggle of 'the managed' with 'the management' and of retreat from the struggle*)
- (b) Scepticism as denial in theory, while affirming in practice, the reality of such relations (*self-consciousness of independently performing a good job but necessarily dependent on the managers definition of such*)
- (c) The Unhappy Consciousness as involving either:
 - (i) the internalisation of the master's ideology (*awareness of having to keep one eye on the institution and do the thinking for a manager*)
 - (ii) the projective duplication of another world (*a concentrated focus on purposeful ethical relations with students as of prime significance*)

Mapping Brenda's commentary into a master-slave dialectic provides purchase on several aspects of the relations between manager and the managed. First, there is the obvious vocabulary of responses identifiable across the teachers of stoicism, scepticism, unhappy consciousness. These terms are also connected with the dialectical model of eight ethical stances discussed in Chapter Six. Second, there is a struggle between two contrary goals of (i) achieving recognition from the other and (ii) negating the other. A frequent complaint is the lack of recognition the manager gives to the managed. As Brenda commented about a recent Ofsted inspection:

Brenda commentary B

Brenda: I think the sad thing about it – it was the first bit of positive feedback we have had in a long time [...] it was the first bit of recognition [...] that's the only place we got it from.

Similar sentiments were raised by Susan and were discussed at the start of this chapter. Both are expressions of a dialectic of de-alienation with a desire for the dominant manager to find the time and put some effort into recognising their worth. This is preferably on an unconditional rather than conditional basis. This is a distinction made by Taylor (1994), of which the former refers to a recognition of the other's humanity. The latter is conditional on some form of behaviour and has to be earned. Repeatedly there is a suggestion made by the teachers that, whilst the ethics of teaching require both forms of recognition of students, this is not practised in relations between the managed and the management. The good practice of the

classroom appears to be forgotten outside. For example, the naming and shaming scenario (v7) produced comments such as those of Jason: *"That's wrong, you cannot do that, you cannot treat students that way, never mind teachers"*; or Judith: *"You don't humiliate children in the classroom."* In terms of (ii), negating the other, Susan in an account similar to that of Judith's above, is quite emphatic that management *"tend to hinder my work rather than help me"*, and desires to be left alone. But, as Brenda added in relation to the first bit of recognition she received (commentary B), *"the reverse is true, work hard and poor grade, it can be demoralising. We do value it too much, but it's the only thing that gives us value."* This is the dialectical bind between master and slave and leads to a third point that of a dependence on each other.

Hegel's dialectic sees the slave winning 'since in work he recognises himself in the object of his labour and so removes its external character' (Bhaskar 1993: 330). This is expressed by Brenda in her identification with her students (commentary A). Several teachers affirmed their commitment to their students as the antithesis to what managers do, and indeed Susan avowed that her loyalty to students was more important than to her colleagues. This is where identity and worth reside, and the fact that managers do not regularly engage with students removes their authenticity. The slave also wins due to the master's dependence on him and the parallel is drawn here by John in Table 17.2 in Appendix 17 (item 4 [a] (i)) where he argues that 'managers depend on the managed'. As Bhaskar (2002: 203) explains, 'the totality of master-slave relationships depends entirely on the creativity of slaves who must generate in some way a surplus or (generically) the energy for that relationship to be sustained'. This is clearly suggested in Brenda's commentary (A) above.

A fourth aspect of the master–slave trope is that of moral ideologies. As mentioned for vignette two, Brenda did not favour proposals for a vote of no confidence or accept the desire for failure. Like others, she was alarmed at the ethics of wilfully failing an inspection, noting that it would damage a much wider range of stakeholders than management and approached the issue from the ‘personalism’ that was discussed in §3.3. As Bhaskar (1994: 230) explains:

We can see how emotivism functions as an ideology for masters, personalism for slaves and decisionism for those who are the slaves of masters who themselves are masters of slaves. Emotivism is the ideology of the leisured elite to whom a philosopher like Rorty appeals; decisionism is the ideology of the bureaucrat; and personalism that fashioned for those who are at the bottom of the global pile.

Thus managers dismiss the moral judgements of the managed as expressions of emotion, decisions made by Ofsted inspectors become the bureaucratic truth, and moral responsibility is attributed to and felt personally by the teachers. As mentioned previously (§3.3), personalism as employed by Bhaskar refers to moral responsibility being placed on an individual who is presented in an ‘abstract, desocialised, deprocessualised, unmediated way, with blame, reinforced by punishment (rather than failure to meet needs), as the sanction for default’ (Bhaskar 1993: 265). Thus in relation to naming and shaming (v7), Brenda explains:

Brenda commentary C

Brenda: I think naming and shaming is an appalling thing [...]. It's equally as bad when you identify those that have done a good job and ignore the rest.

Therefore, to give praise or blame in a public forum makes the mistake of holding one person responsible for what is a team enterprise. There was much criticism of naming and shaming centred around this problem of separating independent performance from what is an interdependent activity. When a person is seen as struggling, all the teachers considered that extra-managerial support was needed in the form of resources and/or training. To hold someone personally responsible requires a personal touch, but this is rarely forthcoming from management. Instead, as Bhaskar (1993: 366) states, 'personalism takes hold of the concrete singular, denudes him or her of their concreteness, tells them that ought implies that they can and must, quite irrespective of their abilities, needs and wants. It then blames them and if the misdemeanour is great enough, punishes them.'

In summary the master-slave dialectic sets out relational essences conceived within a totalising view of developing social relations. It shows how the identities of the relata are interdependent and is illuminating in both describing and explaining the commentaries made by the teachers. One persistent theme is the distance between the management and the managed and this requires some further elucidation.

8.4 Two Persistent Ethical Themes from the Managed about the Management

8.4.1 Adiaphorisation, or the process of distance between the managed and management

The issue of an increased distance between managers and the managed in schools has been examined by (Gewirtz 2002), (Whitty, et al. 1998) and (Willmott 2002). It can be seen in the physical separation of managers from

the managed, variations arising between corporate and individual goals, as well as differences in terms of contact with students. These all involve an ethical dimension summarised by Bauman in terms of adiaphorisation (Bauman 1993: 125). In commentary D from Brenda below (previously quoted in §6.3), she suggests there is an active process whereby management creates distance:

Brenda commentary D

Brenda: [...]there is something in one of the books I've got about learning organisations and it says if you work with team cultures there is enormous pressure to conform and it is very difficult to break ranks [...]it becomes a problem of not being able to identify problems.

The idea that management would encourage and accept the identification of problems runs counter to Bauman's principles of adiaphorisation where indifference and value-neutrality or the creation of moral distance is the prevailing logic. Whilst his analyses adopts a postmodern position, which differs from CR, Bauman pursues retroductive methods, as Danermark has observed, when he sets out to establish 'what were the conditions that made the Holocaust possible?' (Danermark 2002: 99). From his discussion of the 'gardening' culture' of 1930s German society, Bauman explains the characteristics of modern society where distancing actions from the consequences of these actions has become a major feature. This distancing is

recognisable in organisations, and Desmond (1998:178) interprets Bauman in the following way:

the spontaneous recognition of the face of the other demanded by moral behaviour poses a threat to the structured monotony and predictability of organisation and its instrumental or procedural criteria for evaluation [...] these others are rendered as being adiphoric, morally neutral or indifferent. Once the face of the other has been 'effaced', employees are freed from moral responsibility to focus on the technical (purpose centred or procedural) aspects of the 'job at hand'.

In his discussion of marketing practices Desmond then goes on to explain methods that are employed to 'efface the face of the other'. These resonate with observations made by the lecturers. Brenda's critique of the grade C/D policy (v4), shows managers making decisions divorced from the human consequences of their actions. In Bauman's (1993: 125) terms the managers ensure there is 'distance, not proximity between the two poles of action – the "doing" and the "suffering" one'. These are dialectical poles, although Bauman does not apply the concept dialectically. But in the following exposition I will consider the concept and Bauman's outline of the three mechanisms that generate distance through a DCR lens. The first mechanism traces how problems are divided into sub-problems which then become the responsibility of groups who devise strategies to attain prescribed objectives. This is a process of distancing or the stretching of distance in DCR terms. It is a form of absencing and can entail disembedding. To give an example, it is raised in the discussion with Brenda about the internal market for Ofsted materials (v8b). Here some problems of Ofsted preparation and its resourcing has been decentralised and broken up into sub-groups:

Brenda commentary E

Brenda: Well, if you have paid out the money then you are going to have to claim some of it back [...] the school itself should make the decision to purchase —

Sean: Which do you feel most comfortable with — the level of the department or the school?

Brenda: I think the school [...] because it's the school's reputation but if the individual department is going to buy it and the other one wants it then they can fork out as well.

Focusing on the specifics of the vignette, without allusion to Station Road College, Brenda makes an appeal that the senior management of the school should take control of these resourcing issues. But another of Bauman's 'complementary arrangements' are in play: 'exempting some "others" from the class of potential objects of moral responsibility, of potential "faces",' (Bauman 1993: 125). But in a process of creating distance, central resourcing issues have been parcelled out and in Bauman's terms there is an 'effacing the face' where the subject becomes a moral object to be assessed in terms of technical or instrumental value. Rather than an ethic of collegiality and togetherness, there is fragmentation and distance as departments compete with each other. In a similar fashion with responses to the film adverts (v6), there were feelings that managers were displaying distance with such a policy

as they imposed something that students themselves might not like. As Brenda commented: "What happens if there is something on the screen saver that offends them?" Such a policy 'removes the face' of the student and denies their moral capacity. In the context of Station Road College it was felt by Brenda and other colleagues that some Muslim students might be unhappy over risqué Hollywood films, and that distant managers would never consider such issues.

The third process that Bauman argues render the moral subject adiaphoric is a 'disassembling other human objects of action into aggregates of functionally specific traits, and holding traits separate so that the occasion for reassembling the face does not arise' (Bauman 1993: 125). Aspects of this arose in discussions of naming and shaming (v7). Brenda was appalled at such an idea and was critical of measurement processes that reduced colleagues into a grading number. Relating the vignette to Station Road College and the grading of classroom observations this form of disassembling did not resolve specific ongoing issues:

Brenda commentary F

Brenda: I think it is unhealthy, I don't think it's supportive and that should be your aim in tackling anything, the aim should be to get some improvement. When a colleague got a grade one from our head of section observation, well done to him. But the problem occurs where students have a problem with a member of staff year on year but nothing happens. It is a management issue and management do know. But at the beginning of term [...]. No!

Here Brenda speculates on whether naming and shaming could occur at Station Road College and identifies a colleague that students regularly complain about. She does not accept public criticisms of the individual at the start of term and favours supportive measures. But she holds management responsible for ignoring 'the issue' and keeping their distance from the colleague. To 'turn a blind eye' is seen as an abnegation of management responsibilities, and felt personally by Brenda, where it hinders team performance and diminishes the achievement of those regulating their own performance. For the managers completing the paperwork for classroom observation, grading appears a priority, rather than addressing the problem of a struggling member of staff, which is affecting the team delivery of courses. Often summarised as 'tick-box' management, this expresses a cognitive distance between managers and the managed, when the moral subject is 'objectified' in this grading exercise. But it is also contradictory when the evidence gathered is not used to take action, not in a naming and shaming form, but as a personal supportive process. Brenda's position is to contrast this with the activity of the classroom where she acknowledges her interdependence with students and the importance of reciprocal relations. However this is absent from relations with management:

Brenda commentary G

Brenda: The teaching and learning, and I know I can't do my job without other people. I can't do it without the students, I praised the students after the Ofsted inspection, I bought the students some chocolates. Its not trickle down, it's "I can't do it without you!" I can't do my job if other people don't co-operate with me and that's one of the things I find quite difficult. Its because I don't see how management need to co-operate with me, they seem so distant [...]. They seem so distant!

At this point Brenda's is articulating the principle of co-presence, where 'What is present from one perspective, at one level, in some region may be absent from, at or in another' (Bhaskar1993: 48). The teacher-student objectification of an Ofsted inspection accentuates separation and masks interrelatedness. But here Brenda displays her capacity for transcendental identification, in which 'Your sense of duality, your sense of separateness, your sense of distinctiveness breaks down [...]. I can't fully understand someone else unless I see myself in them. This is co-presence. I have to see myself in the other and the other in myself' (Bhaskar 2002a: 90)(See section 8.5 below where this is developed further). Managerialist practices occlude co-presence as, for example, performativity measurements split individuals off from each other to create measurable objects. In a discussion of teacher appraisal, and writing before the entrenchment of Ofsted inspections, Ball (1990: 159) explains in Foucauldian terms the phenomenon of distancing but without reference to co-presence:

Appraisal has become one of the prime features of the political reconstruction and disciplining of teachers as ethical subjects in the 1980s. It extends the logics of quality control and performance indicators into the pedagogical heart of teaching. It brings the tutelary gaze to bear, making the teacher calculable, describable, and comparable. It opens individuals to an evaluating eye and to disciplinary power.

This is not a gaze of transcendental identification but one of distancing and objectification that is separation and dualistic split. This process of a 'normalising gaze' is then extended and intensified in turn by the teachers towards their students and it creates a difficult tension for them (v4). This stems from trying to reconcile the understood co-presence of classroom practice with the distancing objectifying measurements conducted from

outside. Classroom activity presupposes co-presence, according to which 'every object in the universe is contained or enfolded within my consciousness, [...] is co-present within me. As I can understand you, as I can love you, I must already implicitly contain you; that is, my understanding of you entails your co-presence within me.'(Bhaskar 2002a: 215). But this runs counter to the dualism of performance measures.

Bauman's three principles of adiaphorisation can be summarised as denying co-presence, and the distance between management and the managed, as mechanisms that occlude transcendental identification in consciousness. Brenda suggests management attitudes of indifference (non-transcendental identification) generate distance (commentary D). She also recognises that decentralising processes, often claimed to promote 'empowerment', also contribute to distance (commentary E). She also sees distance arising when management abnegate their responsibilities to help the managed (further non-transcendental identification) (commentary F). Furthermore, she acknowledges co-presence with her students (and transcendental identification, non-duality) and remarks on the importance of trust and solidarity which she hints is absent from relations with management (commentary G).

8.4.2 Management work as inauthentic

The comment from John that appears in Table 17.2 in Appendix 17 refers to the fourth aspect of alienation '[a] (i) from labour and its products (4D)' is reproduced again below:

John: The people that make work in any factory, in any office, in any school for that matter are the people who do the work. If every manager decided to go

off sick tomorrow this place would still work. If every member of staff went off sick, the whole place would grind to a halt (v2).

Here John expresses a view that is held by several of the teachers, namely, that management work is less meaningful than what happens in the classroom, even inauthentic and dispensable. The award of a post-Ofsted bonus to management was opposed by every teacher interviewed and Brenda's commentary is typical of some of the sentiments expressed:

Brenda commentary H

Brenda: Well having been in this position — . Absolutely, grossly unfair [...] and we made representations on that [...] didn't make any differences [...] except that we did get a bonus the following year.

Sean: Why is it unfair?

Brenda: Because they cooked the bloody Ofsted on the back of the peoples' teaching. They really have! Its other peoples work they got it on!

The award of a bonus to management, (v2c), raised sharp and forceful criticisms and any justification in terms of 'trickle down' were treated with derision. On several grounds a bonus was thought to be unjust due to unequal treatment, demotivating due to discriminatory recognition, and undeserving due to unequal efforts. It is the latter that Brenda raises in her comment: "*Because they cooked the bloody Ofsted on the back of the peoples' teaching.*" This is a prevailing theme: that management work is parasitic on

the real work of teaching and not an authentic aspect of a school's core activity. The use of the term 'inauthentic' is meant to convey several features that arose throughout the interviews. On two occasions (John and Judith), a bonus to managers was considered nonsense as their labour was dispensable; they argued that Ofsted inspectors would not be perturbed by absent managers but very critical of teachers absent from classes (see John's comment in §8.31.3 on alienation in Table 17.2 Appendix 17 part 4 [a] i). The award of a bonus to management is in Bhaskar's (1993: 168) terms an example of illicit fusion where sectional interests are represented as universal ones. This is where rewards to management are presented as universally good and will have a positive motivational impact on them and their subordinates through a process of trickle down. However, giving everyone a bonus, as some teachers suggested, is dismissed as costly and impractical. This is an example of illicit fission where interests that are universal are presented as sectional (see glossary Appendix 19). One sense of inauthenticity, therefore, is that it commits the categorical errors of fusion and fission. In the case of the former there is an absence of a distinction that creates a false totality such as 'management means most'. The latter involves the absence of a connection and produces a split or detotalised totality. This is illustrated fully with the peripheralisation of the ALS staff (v3).

A further sense of inauthenticity is in relation to issues of autonomy. In a Sartrean notion of 'bad faith' managers are felt to be in denial about the centrality of classroom work, and as Brenda argued (commentary D) about managers "*there is enormous pressure to conform and it is very difficult to break ranks.*" This 'bad faith' also extends to occasions identified where managers implement new projects for the benefit of their own experience and curriculum vitae, rather than for the good of the students and college. The first issue of 'bad faith' is understood as arising from a lack of autonomy,

whereas the second derives from possessing too much, and especially in relation to the managed. Stories abound of where managers move on to new positions after having experimented with new schemes at the expense of the managed. This was mentioned by Keith, *"the very people you are trying to dump basically cruise off to other colleges, and short order, they'll be all right mate and you'll be the one stuck with the problem."* As Collier (1999:106) suggests, 'Inauthenticity is "washing one's hands" of one's acts, ponziopilatismo, as Gramsci called it'.

Brenda had several instances of failed schemes in other colleges and had decided recently not to pursue a job application:

Brenda commentary I

Brenda: I turned down the interview as I had looked at the organisational chart and thought that looks very isolating. This little person. I don't want to work entirely in systems.

She had diagnosed, and was later proved right, that the 'quality control' aspect of the job description was a token gesture. Squeezed into the organisational chart was a 'little person' designed to give management some justification that they were addressing what would be Ofsted requirements.

The fact that a manager can impose on the autonomy of the managed is a factor deeply resented by most, and a further argument for the inauthenticity of management. Student target setting, departmental self-assessment reviews, and exam performance statistics analysis are all examples of paperwork

provided by the managed to the managers. In the process, the managed feel their autonomy, in terms of intellectual and personal time, reduced. But some of this data is acknowledged as 'fabrications,' 'inauthentic' and 'self-serving' of the managers. It is data that appears to deny, if not erase, the ontology of classroom processes. With the preoccupation of management with such data, their inauthenticity is compounded. He or she cannot identify with the core activity of teaching, uses data that is reductive of its processes, and stands accused of mimicking business methods. As John disparagingly commented, *"they're bean counters."* This engagement with 'beans' or 'office paperwork' is at considerable remove from interacting with other beings such as colleagues and students, and it is this that makes teachers feel uncomfortable with accusations of inauthenticity. Teachers accept implicitly the position that human beings have intrinsic worth, and this, argues Collier (1999: 90), 'is the "intransitive dimension" of the whole of ethics, which every moral code approximates to more or less well, and under constraints of its time-and-place-bound ideological determinants'. The worth of being tends to be erased under managerialism by its instrumental rationality and manipulative processes, where people are not treated as ends in themselves but as a means to an end. As Bottery (1992:31-2) has explained, an 'instrumental rationality' has been inserted into school management over and against 'substantive rationality'. The former is about techniques to get things done, such as cost controls target setting and customer service audits, and the latter emphasises the intrinsic qualities of the 'product-process', which in education is teaching and learning.

In DCR the exercise of rationality is intrinsic to the concept of truth, and Bhaskar sets out seven levels of rationality which indicate the types of knowledge necessary for the possibility of emancipation. Without elucidating these levels, it is sufficient to point out that the higher levels involve critical

reason which progresses to emancipatory reason. 'Technical rationality', Bhaskar explains (1986: 181), generates technical imperatives and '[i]f such imperatives ever appear to depart from the ends-means schema, this is only because they implicitly presuppose a context of human purposes in the domain of their intended applications. This is the only kind of rationality positivism knows.' It's predominance under managerialism undermines a movement to higher critical levels and, following on from previous arguments from Chapter Three, undermines the ethos of a school. For to recall Starratt (1994: 46), an ethical school is one with an ethic of critique, justice and care. The over-concentration on instrumental reasoning diminishes the role of the ethic of critique. Further, to recall the ethical school described by Haynes (1998: 28), the triumph of 'efficiency versus persons' will also have a detrimental impact on the ethos of the school. Technical rationality in terms of her triadic taxonomy of consistency, consequences and care, is orientated towards pre-conventional morality, utilitarian outcomes and emphasising rights rather than responsibilities. As discussed in Chapters Four and Seven, most teachers acknowledge dimensions of incommensurability between schools and businesses, and the persistence of managers in instrumentally measuring the unmeasurable renders them inauthentic. In short, the 'bean-counting' of management world views are not considered in line with the reality of schools. As technical rationality is perceived as less important or inauthentic to schools, those that propagate its use are similarly judged as inauthentic.

At this point the inauthenticity of 'bean counting' managers can be seen to be multi-faceted. First, they propagate incommensurable 'inauthentic' business values. For example, Susan expressed her dissatisfaction for the short-termism of management, *"You would think that having a target of a certain percentage amount of achievement would encourage management to be more long-*

term, but most managers I have come across then to be very short-term in their outlook and if they can balance their budget this year, that's fine." Second, in the measuring of teacher and student activities there is an effacing of social ontology. As Willmott (2002: 189) explains 'The point is that we get back to the constraining contradiction at the practical level: managerialism erases its human subjects yet requires them so that they can be "managed"'. As Alex explained about management: *"Their problem is getting in the number of students, 'bums on seats'. That's what they are looking at. They don't care about the student."* In simple terms, too much attention to context may detract from producing results. Third, and following on, is that 'bean counting' conducted at a distance means little or no engagement with the objectified individuals involved and there is an obvious detachment from the 'being as being which is good', to return to Collier's realist ethics. This final point is significant in that managers, often physically distant in their offices, are isolated from the being of the classroom. They become atomistic, and avoid foregrounding being, which gives authentic understanding, but '[i]f the world [as distinct from being] is foregrounded we have inauthentic understanding' (Collier 1999: 109). Collier defends 'the existential notion of authenticity or authentic existence as an aspect for the good of humankind'. In a discussion of Heidegger, and with some illustrations from hospital management, Collier provides some useful ideas in relation to the teachers' notion that management work lacks authenticity. As he (1999: 109) explains with an anecdote from once working as a hospital porter:

The project of the hospital was of course the care of sick people. To that end, the smooth running of 'equipment totalities' is required, and to that end disciplined functional hierarchies – administrators, doctors, nurses, porters – are set up. The focus moves away from the patients, towards the equipment, its smooth running, adherence to rules and respect for hierarchies designed to secure that smooth running. In the end, the tail wags the dog, the equipment-to-hand wags the Dasein.

The claim that Collier makes here is that in the running of the hospital, Dasein (meaning humankind) becomes secondary to the ready-to-hand equipment as a way of being. This echoes accusations made by teachers that the preoccupation with running schools as businesses turns to *"passing tests and ticking boxes"* (Susan) or *"good scores, good league tables its manufactured isn't it?"* (Mandeep) or *"they keep messing up the core business and stopping you producing the product"* (Judith). Paperwork and tick-boxing is an example of an equipment entanglement which takes priority over Dasein yet this equipment exists for it. Authentic understanding in schools like hospitals stems from the foregrounding of the possibility of being, but when the world in this sense is foregrounded then we have inauthentic understanding. Management inauthenticity results from their entanglement with tick-boxing about being rather than being itself.

The moral boundary, that management work is inauthentic, is not drawn in such a way that it is claimed management should not exist, or that they too are not constrained by policy pressures. For example, June professed sympathy for the head teacher orchestrating the new intake scores (v1), *"Of course because head teachers are under such pressure to get as many children through the mill of A-Cs."* Similarly as mentioned previously Mikala declared in an attempt to rationalise naming and shaming (v7), *"I would hate to be a senior manager, for who knows what pressures would turn me into fear and paranoia."* Instead, the moral boundary is drawn on the ethical beliefs that management work lacks the authenticity of the 'being' in the classroom, that it utilises instrumental reasoning which downplays an authentic ethic of care and that through illicit fusion their sectional paperwork demands are given the status of belonging to universal interest.

8.5 From Dialectical Critical Realism to Transcendental Dialectical Critical Realism

The distance witnessed in the social relations of the management to the managed represents an incompleteness where difference (1M) stands against unity (3L) and there is the illicit fusion of management interests with the general interest. This distance is understood by most of the teachers as almost an accepted ethic in business but one which contradicts the ethic of collegiality in schools, and imposes constraints on the totality of school relations. But what is missing or makes this investigation of emergent ethical beliefs in schools incomplete (in U-D-R terms) is the lack of attention as to how, given this distance, the teaching is still 'delivered' and results are still 'league-tabled'. This does not require a search for the reasons for an absence of resistance but rather to consider how this distance is obviously transcended.

This distance or gap between management and the managed is a marked duality and as Bhaskar (2002a: 11) explains, 'In our world it is duality [in its oppositional or antagonistic meaning], and its characteristic forms of reasoning : and behaviour, instrumentalist, mediated, conditional, heteronomous, forced, attached, analytical (in the worst sense of dividing and breaking up), which rules'. But it is Bhaskar's (ibid.: 10) contention that non-duality 'sustains and underpins the world of duality'. Transcendence (surpassing or over-reaching another), and transcendental identification in consciousness (to become one with something else which you know) both signify 'the breaking down of duality or opposition or separateness within a context' (ibid.: 208). In spite of mechanisms that sustain distance such as performativity measures, (v7) contractual relations (v3) and methods of remuneration (v2c), there are moments when the duality of management and

managed are transcended. Differences prior and during Ofsted preparation and inspections (v2, v8), are transcended as the alterity of each other is collapsed and there is a unity of performance towards a successful Ofsted inspection. A weekend away (v5) might offer further opportunities to bring a breaking down of duality or opposition or separateness within the context of the weekend which may then be extended into the school. It is this lack of attention to transcendence which is an omission in CPA and something I would like to discuss at this juncture in relation to issues that arise from after school lessons (v4) (See Morgan 2003:135-138 for a critique of transcendence).

In Appendix 18 some correspondences are made between concepts in DCR and (T)DCR and are then referenced with data from the discussion by Alex of out of school time lessons (v4). The reaction to the selective after-school lessons was widely criticised by teachers, but as Gilborn and Youdell (2000) report this 'rationing' of education is increasingly widespread in schools. The impartial treatment of students, their equal worth (as being), and equity in the distribution of resources is at issue in this policy. But in the C/D border, as Ball (2006: 90) suggests: 'A new kind of labelling of students is brought into play. This is part of an internal economy of student worth.' In this 'worth' there is a duality of those worthy of extra lessons to bolster league table institutional success and those subjects, like English, Maths and Science, that do not receive funding for extra lessons because they are not designated as belonging to the '. To develop this in terms of the MELD schema we have the being as such of students erased as they become league table objects. As Willmott (2002: 140) argues, 'managerialism negates "the input"; that is, children. Logically, it cannot avoid any treatment of the input and arguably the managerialist usurpation of assessment in turn secretes a factory model of children, whose cognitive capacities are fleetingly acknowledged or reduced to a one-way dependence upon society.' This erasure of being is encapsulated

in the factory model of the school and the being of the student is processed for results. From understanding student being as a totality flows a more holistic and ethical conception, and the prescription for praxis is to overcome the C/D label. Implicit in the teacher responses to the vignettes is a desire to transcend the duality created in the C/D label. For example, June found it obnoxious concentrating on just one student, Brenda explained how she fixed for Abdul to get those extra lessons, Judith ignored dictates and offered extra lessons for all, and Brendan argued that in schools as opposed to business more should go to less, i.e. the least able (grades E, F, G) should receive more lessons. This involves transcendental identification in consciousness with elements of the non-dual.

To take this further, corresponding to the four types of transcendence I have quoted observations made by Alex in Appendix 18 (see also glossary Appendix 19). First, he offers the sense of connectedness between student and teacher, and suggests that teacher might lose their egoistic selves in the good results of their students. This is a transcendence inwards and outwards to the transcendently real self, inner and outer, that is implicit in human speech and practice as such. Next he considers extra payment for extra lessons is fine if the teacher is transcending their own benefits for the good of the student. This is transcendental identification away from the self and out towards others. There is an issue presented here of something unseemly about 'making extra money from extra lessons'. But Alex explains that he is not jealous if other teachers get paid more, and suggests that, for the good of the student, the teachers as a team and the school as a whole, the core subjects should get this extra attention. This is an ethic that the majority of teachers displayed, a transcendence signifying a unity of the school in teamwork. Rather than the duality of competing for more overtime pay, the importance of English, Maths and Science was accepted, as were payments to the teachers

of these subjects for the unity of the school. Some did object, Judith found overtime pay a pernicious intrusion on one's time, as did Mandeep, and both Earl and Brendan disliked the turning of subjects into a hierarchy. In response to the question whether overtime pay makes a teacher better, Alex suggested that freedom of time afforded a transcendence in the activity of teaching, that is a transcendental identification with the activity of teaching. Free of timetable constraints, the teacher can become absorbed in simply teaching – the inference being that managerialist practices hinder the creativity and spontaneity of teaching that prevents a transcendental identification with one's activity. Therefore, what is demonstrated in the table is the significance teachers place on non-duality, that is of being in a non-dual state with their real selves, students, colleagues, and the activity of teaching. However, managerialism adds an emergent dualistic level which dominates and occludes the non-dual. But it is Bhaskar's (2002a: 10) contention that the non-dual is 'not only ubiquitous and indispensable to any mode of (human) being or eventuation, it is prior to dual forms and phenomena, which are unilaterally existentially dependent on them'. This duality is perpetuated through splits such as objectifying teachers in performativity measures which then prevents transcendence which, in Bhaskar's (2000: 49) words, 'vanishes otherness in a moment of identity-in-difference with which it identifies'. But this split is only in the moment argues Bhaskar (2002a: 10) as ' Though non-duality sustains and underpins the world of duality, which inevitably proliferates, splits, ruptures and alienates, the world of duality dominates and occludes its non-dual basis or ground'.

To further underline the importance of transcendence in schools consider some other vignettes. Criticism of the head teacher fixing the cohort (v1) stems from a failure of *transcendence with* all potential students in the locality and to see each child as a playing a part in the school community. Likewise

naming and shaming (v7) prevents transcendence with a staff team or unity-in-diversity. This is the same for the internal market (v8c) which blocks holistic transcendence across departmental teams. The introduction of film adverts (v6) detracts from the pedagogic aim of students becoming totally absorbed in the contemplation of their lesson this is *transcendence in* an activity, as does the form filling and tick-boxing that prevails with peripheral contracts; accountability requires tick-boxing but this activity is a restraint on the spontaneity of the teacher with their students. Likewise, a criticism of peripheralising ALS staff is that the 'parcels of time' allocated reduce the possibility of *transcendence both outwards and inwards*. The weekend away (v5), perhaps affords the opportunity of *transcendence with the management team*, but this may be a contrived collegiality. But what it might reduce is time for *transcendence inwards* which is 'the retreat of a being from objectivity, back into self-identity with his or her own subjectivity' (ibid.: 4). Ofsted inspections (v2 , v8) maintain a regime of teachers being objectified and part of the resentment towards it is its constraint on self-identity. Alex, as well as others, indicates a desire to absent the constraints on transcendence, to replace duality with the non-dual. This is not specific to schools and indeed non-duality is ubiquitous in businesses. But the comprehensive values of schools presuppose a wide zone of non-duality and the colonisation of schools by market values makes inroads into the accessibility of this zone.

8.6 Conclusion: The Ethics of Recognition

In the data analysis of the ethical beliefs that the managed hold about the management, the orienting concept of 'recognition' provides both a practical and theoretical schema for elucidation. Practical, in that it directs attention to some of the why, what, when and how of ethical beliefs about relations

between the dialectical pair. Theoretical, in that it is central to the generalised master–slave dialectic as outlined by Bhaskar, as well as issues of social justice as outlined by Young (1990) and taken up by Gewirtz (2002). The ‘them and us’ dichotomy comes as no surprise as a recurring theme in the vignette responses, and for the practical conduct of analysis this needs to be interpreted as a desire for mutual recognition. Why this is ethically important is that, through recognition, people develop both psychologically and socially in their identity and status and subsequent well-being. Further as Sayer (2005: 55) explains: ‘Through both subtle and unsubtle differences in recognition of others, people are in varying degrees included or excluded, and allowed access to different opportunities.’ Whatever form of recognition occurs between the management and the managed, according to the latter it is never enough. As to the when and how of recognition the managerial systems of accountability, such as exam grades target setting, performance management appraisals, or Ofsted lesson observation, are all one-sided, conditional and unequal forms. This is problematic, for as Sayer (ibid.: 56) points out: ‘While producing things (including providing services) and hence changing the social world around us can indeed help to create a sense of self-worth, this too depends on others who (a) recognise us as subjects capable of self-determination, and (b) are capable of judging and confirming the worth of our labour.’ Commentaries provided above from Keith and Judith show the degree of scepticism that some hold about being allowed to get the job done, as well as the ability of managers particularly inspectors to make adequate assessments about performance. Also, practically, the orienting concept of recognition is linked to the ethical concepts of autonomy, trust, ‘othering’, power, ideology and alienation, and all are conceptually framed within the master–slave dialectic and four-planar social being.

One final consideration to keep in mind is that 'recognition' embraces both an affective and ethical content, and that it is concentration on the 'effective' that may act as a constraint on both. Much of management-to-managed 'recognition' is structured by considerations of the 'effective', and through the device of the vignettes the implications for the 'affective' are investigated by the question. 'do you feel comfortable with this?' But the aim of the data analysis is to evaluate responses in terms of the 'ethical'. This takes a wider perspective, therefore, than McNess et al. (2003), who raise the question 'Is the Effective Compromising the Affective?' and consider the affective as drawing on the ethical? The study by McNess et al. (ibid.: 248) explored how, 'Some teachers, in the study, expressed a feeling of fragmented identity, torn between the official discourse which emphasised technical and managerial skills, and a strongly held personal view which emphasised the importance of an emotional and affective dimension to teaching.' In a survey of primary school teachers in England, France and Denmark they found that in England teachers found that engaging fully in the affective component of their work was 'at odds with a managerially driven policy model which sought to be "effective" in terms of narrowly defines measure of pupil achievement' (McNess et al. 2003: 255). As a result, administrative demands such as target setting detracted from pursuing the more personally satisfying aspects of teaching. Central to this chapter and to the project overall has been to what extent this concentration acts as a constraint on the ethical. Through a narrowing of the focus on the ethical to 'recognition', the answer to this question is that the emotional strain that teachers voice arise from their commentary that these situations are wrong. For example, as Susan explained: *"The gulf between us and managers, I think it's wider since incorporation, since the turning of us into businesses, because the management's agenda is very different to our agenda."* The managers agenda is concentrated on the 'effective' in contrast to Susan's focus on the 'affective', the former a vice

set against the virtue of the latter. The managers' concentration on the 'effective' means they lose sight of the 'affective' in their subordinates: "[...] he wouldn't know who I was if I came and smashed him in the face" (Susan).

The vignette scenarios ask, 'do you feel comfortable with this?', calling for feelings or reflection on one's emotions. These are in Archer's (2000: 217) terms social emotions, emergent properties from human relationships that involve commitments to certain normative or ethical standards. Emotions are described as 'commentaries upon our concerns' and in the social order they involve importing from a normative discourse a sense of what is right or wrong. In this case Anne's emotions about the lack of recognition involve feelings of anger with a resultant lack of loyalty towards the manager. To preserve what is the most important of our social concerns, her self-worth, she evaluates this lack of recognition as unethical, not a lack of virtue but indeed a vice. This is a distinction made by Kant and explained by Goldie (2000: 153): 'The logical opposite of virtue (+A) is lack of virtue (0), but its 'real opposite' is vice (-A).' However, on Bhaskar's account this vice must be seen as an ill or a constraint, involving an absence, which should itself be absented. In terms of recognition, its absence or its lack from the management impacts on the 'affective' of the managed, but is also felt as unethical, especially if it stems from a vice of naming and shaming (v7) in order to promote the 'effective'. In this chapter it has been argued that a lack of recognition not only impacts on the affective but is also unethical as it has a negative impact on solidarity, leading to distance, lack of trust and alienation and impinging on autonomy. A conclusion for critical policy analysis is that it should acknowledge this link between the affective and ethical and not shy away from evaluating the impact of managerialism in moral terms. As Jones et al. (2005: 140) proclaim, 'If ethics retains something of its meaning from the ancient Greeks, then it is that ethics is something – an emotion, a feeling, an intuition, an

understanding – which involves the very moment that one reflects on what the good life would be.’ The last three chapters of data analysis have been about exploring what teachers feel impacts on the good life in schools. In the final chapter some conclusions are drawn about the findings and methods.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

Bottery (1992: 112) argued almost fifteen years ago that '[i]t is time, then that the transfer of business theory to educational management was examined. Where these borrowings are valid, they increase an understanding of educational management, and the ability to cope with it. Where they are insensitive and indiscriminating, however, they distort a proper conception of education, and produce a version of school management which destroys morale by undermining good educational practice.' Now, long after financial devolution of 1992, business theory and practices are well entrenched in the managing of schools. How insensitive and indiscriminating this has been in its impact on morality rather than morale per se has been the substantive concern of this project. Taking Bottery's call for 'examination' seriously, the approach adopted in this study has been one that shares his concerns but does not follow his style of examination. Instead, there has been an explicit focus on applying underpinning social theory, on addressing the views of the managed rather than management, and on teasing out the contradictions and tensions that exist in the ethics both within and between businesses and schools. Therefore, what is considered the proper conception of ethics in schools was explored in Chapter Three. Then the notion that this may be

'distorted' 'destroyed' or 'undermined' was explored in Chapter Four, centred around the concept of incommensurability, with reference to literature from business ethics. I have taken my process of 'drawing' on business ethics to be, in Bottery's terms, a 'valid borrowing', as the ethical reflections made about business are applied in evaluating educational management. However, one limitation has been to focus entirely on the perceptions of the managed as opposed to giving considerations also to the management. But as explained from the outset in §1.1 and § 2.1 this was not the aim of the thesis and this would require further study which would however capture the totality of ethical relations. In Chapter Five a CR methodology was outlined as a way of exploring, ethnographically, any sense of distortion, destruction or undermining of morality as well as morale. The three data analysis chapters – Chapters Six, Seven and Eight – then mapped out the ethical tensions that teachers identified in the eight scenarios with which they were presented. In contrast to Bottery, the analysis employed dialectical thinking and concepts from CR. Bottery's use of phrases like 'borrowings' (1992: 112) 'transferabilities' 'similarities' 'differences' and 'convergences' (Bottery 1994: eg Ch 3) or 'first-order social and moral values reduced to second order managerial values' (Bottery 2000a: 68) are indeed all dialectical but this is never explicitly developed. There is a constant preoccupation with the shaping, reshaping and isomorphism between the two spheres, but this also never fully examined by Bottery. In CR terms, this is understood by the notion of the intransitive dimension of each sphere remaining relatively unchanged but descriptions and theories about each sphere changing in the transitive dimension. This leads to a second concern of this thesis, the methodological possibilities of CR as a research tool: whether CR can be 'applied' to or within ethnographic style research and whether forms of analysis of data drawn from CR can generate an effective and worthwhile account of the ethics of schooling in the twenty-first century.

The three parts of the thesis are reviewed in this concluding chapter. In the first part I summarise, rather than prescribe, the substantive points this study has made in relation to CPA. In the second part I reflect on the use of CR in the development of an ethnography of managerialism. Then, reviewing the third part, I reflect on the use of DCR and in particular the turn to transcendence. A feature of CR is that it is a developing theory or system. There are four main identifiable moments or turns that have been made, from transcendental realism (TR) to critical realism (CR embracing critical naturalism and explanatory critique), to dialectical critical realism (DCR), and then to transcendental dialectical critical realism (TDCR). Each moment is an immanent critique, and a dialectical articulation of, the previous one. Each moment is also a deepening of the original impulse to re-instate the importance of ontology and provide a fuller account of being.

Behind each moment or turn there is an awareness of theoretical fallibility and the need for theoretical reflexivity. The identified contradictions, anomalies, and inconsistencies of each moment are seen as stemming from an 'incompleteness or constitutive absence in the pre-existing philosophical problem-field that currently dominates the field in question. The critical/therapeutic work of CR is just to repair this absence, which, by re-totalising the existing theoretical scene will inevitably involve some re-description of what was already present therein' (ibid.: 177). In terms of the three parts of the thesis this produces a development that isolates and remedies absences.

9.2 Part I: Bringing Critical Realism to Critical Policy Analysis

The phenomenon of a distance between management and the managed has already been highlighted in studies by Ball (1994) and Gewirtz (2002), but what this study has undertaken is to examine this in terms of ethical beliefs about operating schools as businesses. A feature of a CR analysis of policy should therefore be to engage with what Sayer terms 'lay normativity'. This distance is then viewed in ethical terms and from the point of view of the managed. To this end DCR concepts were used to analyse distance as both a process and a product of recognition in conditions of generalised master-slave relations. The dominant ethical views that teachers have displayed across these two types of schooling are deontological, and this is in spite of the utilitarian ethic that dominates in business concerns. Thus the ethic of care, solidarity and locality and community are sustained in the presence of atomism, individualism and processes of disembedding. That these and other differences exist between schools and businesses were confirmed throughout the vignette discussions, and the inherent contradictions were widely felt. But one issue to consider from a CR informed analysis of policy are emancipatory objectives. As Collier (1994: 172) explains about the function of explanatory critique, 'Hence, the production of explanations of social institutions is not only, as a general rule, a precondition of criticising and changing them; sometimes, it is criticising them, and beginning the work of their subversion.' One feature that is markedly absent from schooling that this study suggests needs highlighting is the lack of 'discussibility'. This is a term taken from Kaptein and Wempe (2002: 254), who quote Solomon and Hanson (1985: 149): 'Ethics becomes a problem in most companies not because of ethical indifferences of ignorance but rather because it is just not part of the conversations.' They define 'discussibility' as the degree to which employees

can talk about ethical matters. A closed organisational context is 'marked by the fact that criticism is neither encouraged nor accepted'. This was a point raised by Brenda, who discussed management in schools as deliberately stifling the identification of problems, which was contrary to a collegiate democracy of the past and contemporary business theory on learning organisations. It must also be remembered that Starratt (1994: 45) defines the ethical framework of schools as having an ethic of care, justice and critique. Kaptein and Wempe use an ethical schema of entangled hands (dilemmas that stem from responsibilities to the organisation), dirty hands (dilemmas that arise on behalf of the organisation) and many hands (dilemmas that stem from responsibilities within the organisation). Within schools as businesses there is a greater possibility of the first two of these areas of dilemmas arising. For example, the disposal of the assets of the school can become entangled with internal deals, such as management bonus (v2c), or an internal market (v8b), but there are also increasing external claims (e.g. inter-school sales (v8a) or advertising 'deals' (v6)). However, there is little forum for discussion of these issues, as staffroom sociability has declined (Gewirtz 2002: 79) and the logic of the market, such as responding to the consumer, 'displaces *values talk*' (Ball 1994: 141). Further in relation to the second dilemma of dirty hands, the increasing involvement of schools with external agencies such as hotels in a weekend away (v5), local cinema for film adverts (v6) or employing the services of Ofsted consultants (v8), means the potential for 'dirty hands' is increasing. Again there is little or no discussion amongst staff about such matters, which are arranged by management who, in meeting stakeholder expectations, are now potentially dealing with far more than just pleasing present or prospective parents. In relation to the many hands dilemmas, discussions about how individual job-related responsibilities are fulfilled at a school organisational basis is more likely to occur. But whilst local pay and positions bargaining has increased, the possibility of whole staffrooms

discussing a vote of no confidence, or determining core-periphery contracts (v3), or the apportionment of overtime pay for extra lessons, is remote (v2b). The role of governors may act as a balance to the power of management (v8c), but it is a realm of 'discussibility' that is increasingly removed from the social relations of the staffroom. As Ball (1994: 89) explains, there are three discourses which surround school governance: the professional, the entrepreneurial and the empowerment of community. Unfortunately, the latter is the least well represented as '[i]t fits uneasily with the disaggregated 'consumer' perspective which predominates in education policy texts' (ibid.: 89). For as Ball (2006: 11) further explains in relation to the new moral economy of marketised education, 'These incentives and rewards are intended to displace the "out-dated" niceties of professional ethics. Ethical reflection is rendered obsolete in the process for goal attainment, performance improvement and budget maximisation. Value replaces values, except where it can be shown that values add value'.

Therefore one emancipatory conclusion that follows from this is that some forum⁷ or *agora* for the discussion of ethical matters should exist in schools. This is emancipatory in so far that it would provide a context for identifying beliefs, undesired social structures and seeking ways to replace them with desired ones. Two areas that this study suggests need attention are, first, the lack of recognition and the resulting distance between management and the managed. Second, it is the function of explanatory critique to identify false beliefs which may not be accidental but serve to support some form of ill. This study suggests that there is a category mistake and false belief in treating schools as if they are a business, and further, that the assumed homology between the two spheres should be seen as de-stratifying their separate realities and especially in relation to their respective ethics.

9.3 Part II: Bringing Critical Realism to Qualitative Educational Research

On the subject of CR methodology, Sayer (2000: 19) has explained, 'Perhaps most importantly, realists reject cookbook prescriptions of method which allow one to imagine that one can do research by simply applying them without having a scholarly knowledge of the object of study in question.' A central objective of this thesis has been to develop a CR method that is sensitive to, and fits with, the specifics of ethics and the business of schooling. In particular, the approach was to develop an ethnography informed by CR in order to understand the culture of managerialism from inside, but also to challenge it. The direct questioning of teachers about the ethics of their school requires sensitivity and is itself an ethical matter. The use of vignettes provided a way into opening up issues in a relatively remote non-personalised and safe way, in that teachers respond to abstract scenarios what they feel uncomfortable with rather than supplying full accounts of moral transgressions or malaise. The vignettes also acted as a vehicle for the CR dual concentration on elements of agency and structure. Information is gathered, first, at the microscopic level, from the teachers as agents with respect to their intentionality, that is ethical beliefs or 'reasons as causes', and their personal interactions; second, at the macrocosmic level, concerning how teachers' beliefs and actions are formed by wider influences, and how their experiences are created, limited and structured by wider constraints. This is a structural analysis of the beliefs of teachers as agents, not as to whether they are actual but rather that they are possible and plausible. The vignette interviews were also conducted from a theory-testing perspective, with a dialogic structure of 'I'll-show-you-my-theory-if-you-show-me-yours'. This also facilitates the

mapping out of beliefs that are dynamic and changing, and overcomes the internal constructs problem of questionnaires as discussed by Pawson (1989). Internal constructs are those concepts that are dependent upon what different people mean by them; if they are vulnerable to individual differences in meaning, there will be differences in understanding. For example, to take a vote of no confidence (v2b) was interpreted in different ways from constructing a Union sanctioned document Union to individual action where a teacher would discuss issues in private with management. A specialist agency (v3) was interpreted variously as untrained teaching assistants through to experts hired for dyslexia support, whilst some imagined a planning weekend (v5) would be more social in character than work.

Guba and Lincoln's (1982) refer to the 'trustworthiness of data' in terms of 'Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability' but these are terms that do not fit appropriately with this study. As explained in Chapter Five on methodology, the term generalisability has a specific meaning in CR. This term, as well as reliability or the four criteria above, do not sit comfortably with CR given that they are introduced within a positivist framework. This does not preclude reflection upon these criteria as part of the research experience, but they direct attention away from explanation towards prediction, and it is the former that is considered more important in CR. The intention is not to claim that these two case studies provide insights that can be generalisable to the whole of schooling, but rather to explore teachers ethical beliefs as causal mechanisms operating at the level of the real.

Previous educational research that has employed either explicitly or implicitly a CR methodology has, following Pawson and Tilley (1997), at some point produced a list of causal mechanisms. For example, Danermark et al. (2002: 194) list mechanisms explicitly identified by Corson (1991) that influence

children's achievement in the education system. Similarly, Carter and New (2004: 13) reconstruct Crozier's (1997) study into the different levels of parent participation in their children's schools according to socio-economic class. They identify five 'mechanisms', which they point out is not a term used by Crozier. One method of identifying mechanisms is to employ retroduction and this was discussed as the fifth stage of Crinson's (2001) analytical schema, where it was explained that the research question of this study was exploratory rather than resolving a hypothesis (see glossary Appendix 19). Therefore, this study does not conclude with a list of mechanisms as it was not attempting to explain the causal conditions for the emergent ethical beliefs, nor their effects, although both are significant questions. Instead it set out to explore ethical beliefs, interpreted as causal mechanisms that operate in contexts and have their outcomes (The C-M-O schema). This study is therefore, more akin to the works of Archer (2003) and Porpora (2001), in that the interviews were designed to identify 'inner mechanisms of thought' about ethical concerns relating to managerialism.

9.4 Part III: Bringing Dialectical Critical Realism to Qualitative Data Analysis

Corson (1990: 40), as one of the early exponents of CR in educational research, referred to the tenet of 'reasons as causes' and argued: 'On Bhaskar's account these mechanisms, if shown to be real, certainly attract priority as evidence ahead of the data produced by researchers observing and using behavioural criteria or even ahead of data produced by researchers interpreting physiological evidence.' These reasons and beliefs are then taken as the starting point of the research cycle, which has the consequent effect of empowering the agents in the decision making process. However, Corson did not engage with DCR.

The interviews were conducted as well as analysed with several other tenets of CR in mind such as the eight outlined by Sayer (1992: 5-6) which have been translated into ten principles of educational research by Scott (2000: 2-3) and appear respectively in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 in Appendix 2. One guiding principle from Scott (ibid: 3) argues: 'The essential ontological relation which educational researchers need to examine is the relationship between structure and agency or enablement and constraint. This is expressed, following Archer, as a morphogenetic one.' Ontologically 'structure' and 'agency' are seen as distinct strata of reality, with different properties and powers, and irreducible to one another. Thus, following Archer's (2003: 3) more recent work, this study has considered 'Firstly, [...] *how* structural and cultural powers impinge upon agents, and secondly [...] *how* agents use their own

personal powers to act “so rather than otherwise”, in such situations.’ What the vignettes provide are a vehicle for exploring how, confronted with the structural and cultural powers of managerialism, teachers as agents mediate these via emergent ethical beliefs. Central to the process of mediation is human reflexivity and Archer invokes the term ‘inner conversation’ as a way of unpacking the process of responding to social conditioning. Through the vignettes this study has unpacked the inner ethical struggles that teachers have with the ‘intrusion’ of managerialist policy.

In Willmott’s (2002) study there are four main points derived from CR that have been taken as relevant to this study: (i) that schools must be understood as open systems; (ii) that schools must be understood as existing in a stratified social ontology where teachers as agents are enabled or constrained by school and wider social structures and that structure and agency must not be conflated; (iii) that a CS/S-C distinction should be made concerning the culture of schools as organisations and analysed using a morphogenetic approach; and (iv) that the managed-management and teacher-pupil relation is a necessary and internal one. In the case of the latter this is a dialectical concept but is not acknowledged as such by Willmott.

This is to sum up some of the major points that have been made by the main writers using CR in educational research. But none of these have engaged with DCR yet in the case of Bottery discussed in §4.3 and Willmott mentioned in the last paragraph, these writers are already thinking dialectically but do not develop this form to their content. In making comparisons between schools and businesses, an obvious dialectic arises, and to employ DCR is both appropriate and necessary for several reasons. First, it is quite evident that teachers embrace dialectical ideas in discussing the vignettes. Second, in expressing discomfort (aporias) with the ethics of the vignette there is a sense

of what is absent and alethically true. Third, the U-D-R schema encapsulates teachers' understandings (U), which through the vignettes they consider dialectically (D), what is absent and then needs resolving rationally (R). Further, the data analysis deconstructs and reconstructs dialectically what the teachers have said and the study in its entirety does the same with the business of schooling. Lastly, the MELD schema provides a framework for conceptualising the being of business and schools. To take each of these four points and develop them in turn.

9.4.1 *Dialectical thinking in the vignette discussions*

The vignettes challenged respondents to make dialectical comparisons between business and schools, and illustrations of Ollman's (2003: 15) four kinds of dialectical relations abound. These are: (i) 'identity/difference; (ii) interpenetration of opposites; (iii) quantity/quality; and (iv) contradictions. These were categories not explicitly stated by the teachers, but were elicited in the discussions and need closer theoretical and practical attention. In a theoretical sense Bottery's (1994) work has concentrated on these four relations and the quote from him at the start of this chapter shows his concern about the interpenetration of opposites in terms of business theory and educational management, as well as qualitative transformations and contradictions. In this study in the analysis of data a dialectical framework has been an effective tool in making sense of, as well as serving to resolve, the aporias and antinomies that the teachers expressed about the vignette scenarios. Throughout the interviews the teachers attempted to make sense of the identity and difference between schools and businesses, and the managed and management. They identified the penetration of business practice, which they saw as opposite, and were mindful of contradictions that arose. Furthermore, for both newcomers to the profession as well as experienced

teachers, there was a focus on tracing the qualitative transformation in the pattern of social and ethical relations in schools. The phenomenon of 'golden ageism' in relation to the pre-1988 policies (See Ball 2006a: 18) does not apply to the new entrants, but on occasions they expressed concern that some of the negative aspects in the vignettes were part of a quantitative accumulation of effects that would result in a qualitative shift. For example, Mandeep saw contractual hours schemes (v3) and weekends away (v5) as a build-up to making the college even more like a business; whilst June saw film adverts (v6) as steps towards the MacDonaldisation of schools. The dialectical thinking that was displayed by some of the teachers provided the starting point for the data analysis and the use of DCR concepts to orientate and frame the analysis.

9.4.2 The focus on absence and alethia

A second benefit arising from the use of dialectics is that it draws attention to issues of absence and alethia (see glossary Appendix 19). The plea from teachers that 'we're not a business' has been considered in terms of what it is they feel business lacks or is absent from its ethics. This is a different search to one that identifies the presence of bad business practices, as it entails the dialectic of what schools are considered to have or do that is absent from business. Throughout the vignette discussions an assuredness arises that this is the grounded truth of schools in contrast to business. Without a full theoretical justification of the concept of alethia, it focuses attention on the truth about schools in terms of the real state of affairs, directing attention to the truth of something in terms of its ontological structure. For example, Mandeep's criticisms of college pay scales suggests they are now like those in

business, and that teachers are treated as if they were in a business, but his comment that *“you are made to feel more like a business as opposed to the traditional thing that teaching is about”* hints at the notion of an inappropriate or untrue structure. Furthermore, there is an implicit directive here to absent what is seen as a constraint. What follows from this is a dialectical consideration of what it is that enables businesses to be businesses. This is not addressed by the business ethics literature; whilst tight definitions of business have been provided, what enables it to be what it is awaits examination but is beyond the scope of this study.

9.4.3 Situating the data analysis and the study within a U-D-R framework

Schostak (2002: 193) explains the production of expert action in the following way: ‘To become an expert knower requires the acquisition of knowledge and of expert ways of knowing and forming judgement for action.’ He then goes on to outline the Understanding-Dialectic-Reason schema and suggests that the school effectiveness was an ‘expression of the optimism afforded to expertise, to design the lives of young people through the agency of highly reliable visions of schooling modelled after aircraft engineering or airport flight controllers’ (ibid.: 195). Its contradictions needed to be deconstructed [D] but expert power held back a synthesising rationality [U]. This schema provides both a macro-level overarching framework for the project and also at the micro-level a framework for analysing the teachers’ comments in this way. Norrie’s (2004:232) formulation of the four moments of Bhaskar’s dialectic are U-D-S+E→P. In this study there is an Understanding of the ethics of teachers, schools and educational administration, which is challenged by the dialectical contradictions (D) of schools as business, the assessment of which is mediated by a CR informed social science issuing in a dialectical ethics (S+E). This invokes the need for dialectical praxis or practically orientated transformative

negation, a common aspect of education research that emphasises improving action. These movements map on to the MELD schema: 1M ontology (U); 2E negativity (dialectical process and change) (D); 3L totality – holistic causality, internal relationality, ethics etc. (S+E); and 4D transformative praxis and reflexivity (P). Some priority is also given to understanding the social and historical context of this dialectic. For example, the ‘secret garden’ of school ethics interpreted as a lack of accountability therefore requires some effectiveness measures to transform its products and processes. The years 1988 and 1992 are marked out as the starting point of policies that invoke a dialectical praxis to transform schools into businesses (See Ball 1994: Ch 1; Trowler 2003: Ch 1). This is the arrival of managerialism (Willmott 2002: Ch. 5) and the post-welfarist education policy complex (PWEPC) (Gewirtz 2002: Ch 1). But the argument of this thesis, through employing the MELD schema, is that there is incompleteness in the understanding of schools as businesses. Treating schools as businesses generates contradictions, and what is negated needs to be practically restored. The central omission is an incommensurability of ethics between schools and businesses. The market ethic of self-interest, individualism and the mobility of resources contradict the ethics of care, solidarity (collegiality), and embeddedness in the locality.

9.4.4 The ontological guide map of MELD

The MELD schema was not employed either by Shipway (2002) or Schostak (2002). The former was concerned to sketch out a CR perspective of education as ‘facilitating the emergent rationality of students towards emancipation’,

and the latter to provide guidance on the ethical framing of educational research projects. Neither have been concerned with investigating the dialectic of schools and business, the management and the managed, nor the dialectic of data analysis, although Schostak (2006) has written recently about interviewing and qualitative research. The MELD schema is an attempt to think being in a systematically progressive way, and this study has been concerned with the being of schools in contrast to business. Thus, being is considered at 1M as such and in general, at 2E as process, at 3L as a totality, which has a special significance for ethics, and at 4D as incorporating transformative practice and reflexivity. This then helps us to see that emerging ethical beliefs (reasons as causes) are simultaneously products (1M), processes (2E), process-in-products (3L) and products-in-process (4D). The ethical beliefs held by teachers guide their action and their evaluations of policy in schools; they are not static but must be seen as emerging as processes and products from a dialectical engagement with business practices. Thus the MELD schema pulls together an array of concepts for a fuller analysis of being across the spheres of schools and business (see Glossary for MELD in Appendix 19). Further, the MELD schema provides the framework for four-planar social being (or the social tetrapolity) which can be used to direct attention to the dimensions of social interaction within schools as well as businesses as organisations. This in turn brings together the forms of alienation that can be discerned, which can be mapped on to issues of recognition in master-slave (management-managed) relations, which in turn can be related to modes of truth that exist in the trust or lack of it between them. But added to the MELD schema is a Fifth Aspect (so that the acronym becomes MELDA), which Bhaskar (2002a: 181) explains is 'to think being processually, as a totality incorporating human agency and reflexivity, depending on the necessary spiritual or transcendental moment of being, consciousness and agency'. This is then systematically articulated in (T)DCR

which is a 'deepening of our reflection on being' (ibid.: 181). This has been designated the spiritual turn in CR and, as with DCR, compels us to think less statically and more dynamically about the being of schools and businesses.

As in the deployment of DCR the justification for the use of TDCR stems from the argument that it is necessary in terms of a dialectic of form and content. In order to make sense of the dialectic of business and schools and the dialectic of the management and the managed, we need to consider further issues of unity, identity and transcendence. The teacher's discussions of the vignettes present features of resistance to commercialisation by proclaiming the ethics of care, locality and collegiality. In doing so these are moments of transcendence, an appeal to unity, totality or the non-dual. As a concept transcendence is used here to make sense of, and deepen our understanding of, the moments where teachers are in identification with students, their teaching subject matter, as well as their managers. The efficacy of the concept also lies in that it produces insight into what is a real limit to business practice in schools, namely that the fundamental relations in schools are built on and foster the non-dual. Given more time and space one might conduct a dialectical switch and explore the importance of transcendence in businesses in for example areas such as product innovation, brand loyalty, or customer service.

Part IV Conclusion

In the absence of a CR methodology in educational research this study has set itself a threefold task. First of suggesting a substantive area where CR methods can be deployed, namely Critical Policy Analysis. Second, showing how CR qualitative research methods can be designed and then conducted.

Third, demonstrating how a CR analysis of qualitative data can be carried out. At its most general level this study makes a claim for an increased use of CR, especially in its dialectical form in educational research. Whilst at a specific level it claims that CR as a method can be used in policy sociology as a way of bringing 'lay normativity' in relation to policy changes into focus. The benefits of CR remain that it is 'the systematic attempt to *think being* in a systematically progressive way' (Bhaskar 2002 a: 181). What DCR does is 'break the taboo on admitting absence and negativity in reality', (ibid.: 178) that is what is both absent as well as present in the business of schooling. Then further what TDCR does is to break the taboo on a 'rational discourse about transcendence and the transcendent' (ibid.:178) that is 'total unity or oneness with one's whole context'(Bhaskar 2002c:4). One benefit of the concept of transcendence is that it paves the way for an exploration of the prevalence of ethical beliefs within schools which appear to resist the processes of being managed 'as if' they were a business. This could be addressed further through a dialectical perspectival switch of identifying moments of transcendence that sustain commercial practice and would entail a reverse examination of the 'schooling of business'

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Appendix 1: The Vignettes- The Business of schooling or the commercialisation of teachers

Schools as business

1. School admissions

Grange Hill secondary school administers a general cognitive abilities test on prospective primary school pupils in the January before the children are offered a place to start at the school in September. From the results the head teacher provides preferential places to those that have achieved high scores. Those with low scores are not offered places.

How do you feel about this situation?

2. OFSTED and relations between management and the managed

(a) At Flightpath secondary school there is a large number of staff whom are very critical of the senior management team. The school is about to undergo an Ofsted inspection and the staff are hoping that management should be criticised. Some members of staff hope that the school will fail its inspection in order to bring about changes with the management.

What would be your views if you were in this situation?

(b) During the inspection it is decided by a group of staff that vote of no confidence in the management should be expressed to the Ofsted inspectors.

What would you do in this situation?

(c) The Ofsted inspection has finished and Flightpath school receives a favourable report with some management weaknesses outlined. The governors of the school award a post-Ofsted bonus only to the senior management.

Would you feel comfortable in this situation?

3. Learning support redundancies

The staff in the learning support department of Beechside Comprehensive have been replaced with less costly and more flexible part-time assistants from a specialist agency.

How do you feel about this policy?

4. Funding for A to Cs

At Central Station School funding has been provided to run extra lessons after school only for those students in year 11 who are on the grade C/D border.

Do you feel comfortable with this situation?

5. Weekend planning meeting conference

The private company that runs the LEA has provided funds for a staff planning weekend in a local hotel. The senior management team want as many staff as possible to attend Friday night and Saturday night returning on the Sunday morning.

How would you feel about this situation?

6. Film adverts

It has been agreed by senior management that for a fee the local cinema can provide current film adverts as screen savers on the school PC network.

Do you feel comfortable with this situation?

7. Naming and shaming

At the start of the new term the first staff meeting that discusses the summers' exam results adopts a tone of naming and shaming those departments and individual teachers that do not appear to have performed well.

How do you feel about this situation?

8. OFSTED preparation

(a) Grange Hill school is about to undergo an OFSTED inspection in ten months time. The head of the English department is under pressure to produce the necessary documentation for the senior management team as soon as possible. For a significant sum of the departments' budget the head of department could purchase the materials produced by the English department of Park Hill, a neighbouring school who were given an excellent OFSTED report. Park Hill is a national leader in selling such information along with classroom materials in order to raise revenue. What should the head of department at Grange Hill do?

(b) The head of the English department purchases the OFSTED materials from Park Hill. The head of History at Grange Hill asks that these materials might be made available to use also. What should the head of English do?

(c) With five months to go to OFSTED it is decided by the senior management of Grange Hill to buy in the services of Park Hill senior management for three OFSTED preparation training days. A teacher governor has been made aware privately, that the costs will increase the budget deficit of Grange Hill to a very serious level. What would you do in this situation?

Appendix 2: The principles, drawn from critical realism, that underpin a framework for educational research

1. The world exists independently of our knowledge of it.
2. Our knowledge of that world is fallible and theory-laden. Concepts of truth and falsity fail to provide a coherent view of the relationship between knowledge and its object. Nevertheless knowledge is not immune to empirical check, and its effectiveness in informing and explaining successful material practice is not mere accident.
3. Knowledge develops neither wholly continuously, as the steady accumulation of facts within a stable conceptual framework, nor wholly discontinuously, through simultaneous and universal changes in concepts.
4. There is necessity in the world; objects – whether natural or social –necessarily have particular causal powers or ways of acting and particular susceptibilities.
5. The world is differentiated and stratified, consisting not only of events, but objects, including structures, which have powers and liabilities capable of generating events. These structures may be present even where, as in the social world and much of the natural world, they do not generate regular patterns of events.
6. Social phenomena such as actions, texts, and institutions are concept-dependent. We therefore have not only to explain their production and material effects but to understand, read or interpret what they mean. Although they have to be interpreted by starting from the researcher's own frame of meaning, by and large they exist regardless of researcher's interpretations of them. A qualified version of 1 therefore still applies to the social world. In view of 4-6, the methods of social science and natural science have both differences and similarities.
7. Science or the production of any kind of knowledge is a social practice. For better or worse (not just worse) the conditions and social relations of the production of knowledge influence its content. Knowledge is also largely –though not exclusively-linguistic, and the nature of language and the way we communicate are not incidental to what is known and communicated. Awareness of these relationships is vital to evaluating knowledge.
8. Social science must be critical of its object. In order to be able to explain and understand social phenomena we have to evaluate them critically.

Table 2.1 The eight characteristics of realism listed by Sayer (1992: 5-6)

1. Educational research is itself educational. The researcher is as much a learner as those who form the subject matter of the research.
2. There are real objects in the world which do not depend for their existence on whether they are known by anyone or everyone.
3. Of some objects we only have a knowledge of their appearances but these make reference to deeper-lying structures.
4. Any claims we make about knowledge are fallible and furthermore embedded within contemporary ways of knowing.
5. There may be occasions when appearances and deep structures conflict.
6. It is possible to understand the process of doing educational research as one of gathering knowledge of relatively unchanging entities.
7. Educational researchers are inevitably implicated in the production of knowledge about educational activities and institutions.
8. Educational knowledge is embedded within micro-political systems (indeed this is both the subject matter of research and its necessary context), which are understood as having weak or strong boundaries between the different parts.
9. The essential ontological relation which educational researchers need to examine is the relationship between structure and agency or enablement and constraint. This relation is expressed, following Archer (1995), as a morphogenetic one.
10. Educational researchers need to examine: real structural properties at each time point; interpretations of those structures by relevant social actors; real relations between different structures at each time point; perceived relations between different structures at each time point by the relevant social actors; the intentions of the players in the game (actors may also be motivated by unconscious forces); the unintended consequences of actions; the subsequent effect of those intended and unintended actions on structural properties; and the degree of structural influence and agential freedom for each human interaction.

Table 2.2. The ten principles of educational research listed by Scott (2000: 2-3)

Appendix 3: Three Tables of comparisons between comprehensive values and market value, and the phenomenon of values drift

Comprehensive values	Market values
Individual need (schools and students)	Individual performance (schools and students)
Commonality (mixed-ability classes/open access)	Differentiation/hierarchy (setting/streaming/selection/exclusion)
Emphasis on resources allocation to less able	Emphasis on resource allocation to more able
Collectivism (cooperation between schools and students)	Competition (between schools and students)
Broad assessments of worth based upon varieties of qualities	Narrow assessments of worth based on contributions to performativity
The education of all children is held to be intrinsically of equal worth	The education of children is valued in relation to costs and outcomes

Table 3.1. Comparisons of comprehensive values and market values in Ball (1994: 146)

Comprehensive values	Market values
Led by agenda of social/educational concerns	Led by agenda of image/budgetary concerns
Orientated to serving community needs	Orientated to attracting 'motivated' parents/'able' children
Emphasis on student need	Emphasis on student performance
Resource emphasis on 'less able'/special educational needs (SEN)	Resource emphasis on 'more able'
Mixed-ability	Setting
Integrationist	Exclusive
Caring ethos	Academic ethos
Emphasis on good relationships as basis of school discipline	Emphasis on extrinsic indicators of discipline – e.g. uniform
Cooperation amongst schools	Competition between schools

Table 3.2. Values drift in Gewirtz et al. (1995: 150)

Comprehensive values	Market values
Student needs	Student performances
Universalism	Differentiation
Mixed-ability	Setting
Cooperation with other schools	Competition with other schools
Resource emphasis on 'less able'/special educational needs (SEN)	Resource emphasis on 'more able'
Caring ethos	Academic ethos
Led by agenda of social/educational concerns	Led by agenda of image/budgetary concerns
Orientated to serving needs of local community	Orientated to attracting 'motivated' parents
Integrationist	Exclusivist
Emphasis on good relationships as basis of school discipline	Emphasis on extrinsic indicators of discipline -like uniform
Distinctive	Emulative

Table 3.3. Mismatch between comprehensive and market values Gewirtz (2002: 54)

Appendix 4: Four tables taken from the work of Bottery

- (a) *Management is an essential part of any organisation*
- (b) *Education is to be consumer led*
- (c) *There is to be a standardisation of the product*
- (d) *There is to be increased efficiency in financing*
- (e) *There is to be greater accountability*
- (f) *The standard approach is to be management by objectives*
- (g) *Education is to be oriented particularly at the job market*
- (h) *Management will be essentially hierarchical in nature*
- (i) *The way to improve performance is through competition.*

Table 4.1. *Nine analogies between the business and educational management literature (Bottery 1992: 115)*

- (1) Commercial organisations then to rely on material *incentives* to maintain impetus; non-profit organisations tend to rely on non-material rewards such as prestige, or job satisfaction to maintain impetus.
- (2) Commercial organisations are dominated by the motive of *profit*; profit serves little or no part in the determination of a non-profit organisation's goals, or its definition of success.
- (3) Commercial organisations exist in a *competitive* market; non-profit organisations are bounded by an ethos of co-operation
- (4) Commercial organisations vary their *mission*, depending on the climate and market; non-profit organisations have clearly defined missions from which they wander at their peril
- (5) Commercial organisations are characterised by *hierarchy* and degrees of delegation; non-profit organisations are characterised by (or at least pay lip service to the ideals of) equality, egalitarianism, and participation.
- (6) Commercial organisations have a limited number of *goals and constituencies* to which they must answer; not profit organisations have numerous and conflicting goals and constituencies.

Table 4.2. *Six Possible Differences Posited as Indicating a Gulf Between Commercial and Non-Profit Organisations (Bottery 1994: 130)*

- (1) Each of its units(schools, hospitals etc) would need to be given the status of free standing projects, *privately owned* by individuals or groups of individuals.
- (2) The market alone (i.e. the consumers) should decide as to whether the unit provides education or treatment of *sufficient quality and standard*.
- (3) Each unit should have the right to determine the *kind of product* it sells to customers (curriculum, teaching methods, illnesses, kinds of treatment).
- (4) Each unit should have the right to determine the *kind of clientele* it aims to attract(including the ability to refuse or select particular applicants on its own terms).
- (5) Market forces alone should determine whether the unit *prosperes or fails*.
- (6) Each of the units would possess the ability to determine the *price* it should charge its customers (for tuition, treatment etc.).
- (7) Each unit should be able to *make a profit* from its dealings, and do with this as its owners feel fit (including using it for their own benefit and not for the school's or hospital's).
- (8) Each of these units would need to be given the ability to *take over* the business of other institutions, and change its character to the shape desired by its new owners.
- (9) Each unit should have the right to determine the adequacy of *employee qualifications*.
- (10) Each unit should have the right to negotiate with employees *individual levels of pay*.
- (11) Each unit alone should be able to use its *finance flexibly* to its best advantage.
- (12) Each unit should have the right to *market and advertise* its product in any way its owners feel fit, within normal legal constraints.

Table 4.3. Do Education and Health in the UK Resemble a Market in Business?
(Bottery 1998 : 12)

First order social and moral values reduced to second order managerial values.	Vignette reference	Commentary –how managerialism views this value
Autonomy	2a 5 6	<i>To promote efficiency, effectiveness and economy (3E's) autonomy needs to be controlled, it is seen as a potential annoyance and impediment rather than core value.</i>
Criticality	2a 6	<i>The individualist is seen as a problem leading to contrived collegiality</i>
Care	3 4 6	<i>Of the 3E's the quantifiable takes precedence over the qualitative and so the specificity of effectiveness becomes secondary. Care becomes a calculation rather than an ethic.</i>
Tolerance	2b 7	<i>Other's views are relevant if they help define a managerial objective.</i>
Equality	1 2c 4	<i>A market scenario does not emphasise an equality of outcome or result.</i>
Respect	1 7	<i>Dehumanising teachers into units of predictable performance</i>
Trust	2b 5 8b	<i>Market theory concentrates on self-interest, trust is a good thing in economic terms to overcome transaction costs but it is not seen as the cement of human relationships</i>

Table 4.4. *Seven examples of first-order social and moral values reduced to second-order managerial values adapted from Education, Policy and Ethics (2000: 68)*

Appendix 5: Ethical principles for teaching extracted from codes of the General Teaching Council

<p>1.1 <i>They have high expectations of all pupils; respect their social, cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic backgrounds; and are committed to raising their educational achievement.</i></p> <p>This refers to the concept of ‘equal respect and treatment of students’ and a ‘respect for diversity’.</p>
<p>1.2 <i>They treat pupil’s consistently, with respect and consideration, and are concerned for their development as learners.</i></p> <p>Refers to ‘equal respect’, ‘that due process be applied to students’ and a commitment to intellectual openness’ as students are allowed to pursue questions of truth. It prohibits ‘indoctrination’.</p>
<p>1.3 <i>They demonstrate and promote the positive values, attitudes and behaviour that they expect from their pupils.</i></p> <p>Refers to ‘teachers maintaining integrity’ as well as maintaining fairness, kindness, honesty, and respect</p>
<p>1.4 <i>They can communicate sensitively and effectively with parents and carers, recognising their roles in pupil’s learning, and their rights, responsibilities and interests in this.</i></p> <p>This refers to ‘parental rights and professional judgement’ and avoiding ‘neglect.’ It should also encompass fairness, kindness, honesty, and respect.</p>
<p>1.5 <i>They can contribute to, and share responsibly in, the corporate life of schools.</i></p> <p>This will involve an ‘ethic of collegiality’ in which there is fairness, kindness, honesty, and respect shown to colleagues.</p>
<p>1.6 <i>They understand the contribution that the support staff and other professionals make to teaching and learning.</i></p> <p>This refers to ‘equal respect’ to all in the school community.</p>
<p>1.7 <i>They are able to improve their own teaching, by evaluating it, learning from the effective practice of others and from evidence. They are motivated and able to take responsibility for their own professional development.</i></p> <p>This stresses individual professional autonomy and prohibits ‘incompetence’.</p>
<p>1.8 <i>they are aware of, and work within, the statutory frameworks relating to teachers’ responsibilities.</i></p> <p>This also stresses individual professional autonomy and prohibits ‘incompetence’</p>

Table 5.1. Translating the ethics within section one ‘Professional Values and Practice’ of the General Teaching Council for England(GTCE) Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) Standards.

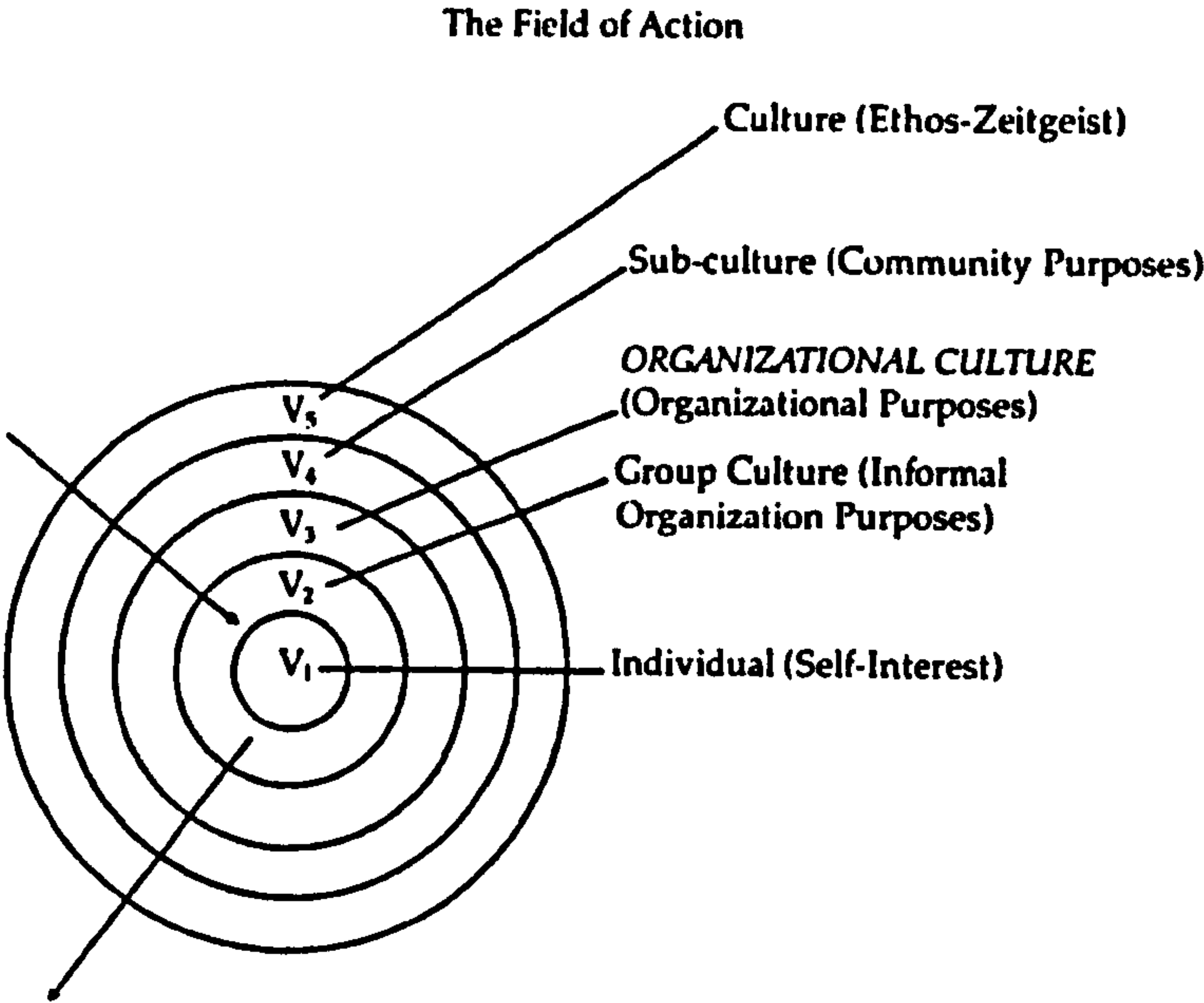
Teachers must:

1. have intellectual integrity;
2. have vocational integrity;
3. show moral courage;
4. exercise altruism;
5. exercise impartiality;
6. exercise human insight;
7. assume the responsibility of influence;
8. exercise humility;
9. exercise collegiality;
10. exercise partnership;
11. exercise vigilance with regard to professional responsibilities and aspirations.

Table 5.2. Ethical principles for teaching adapted from Arthur et al. (2005)

The eleven ethical principles underpinning the list and guidance notes that appear in the GTCE's Code of Professional Values and Practices (2002). These eleven principles were compiled by a working party of the 1995 Universities Committee for the Education of Teachers (UCET).

Appendix 6: The Hodgkinson model of values in educational administration



Appendix 7: Six models of educational management provided by Bush (1995: 24)

1. **Formal** –assumes that organisations are hierarchical systems in which managers use rational means to pursue agreed goals. Heads possess authority legitimised by their formal positions within the organisation and are accountable to sponsoring bodies for the activities of their institutions.
2. **Collegial**-assume that organisations determine policy and make decisions through a process of discussion leading to consensus. Power is shared among some or all members of the organisation who are thought to have a mutual understanding about the objectives of the institution.
3. **Political**-assume that in organisations policy and decisions emerge through a process of negotiation and bargaining. Interest groups develop and form alliances in pursuit of particular policy objectives. Conflict is viewed as a natural phenomenon and power accrues to dominant coalitions rather than being the preserve of formal leaders.
4. **Subjective** -assume that organisations are the creations of the people within them. Participants are thought to interpret situations in different ways and these individual perceptions are derived from their background and values. Organisations have different meanings for each of their members and exist only in the experience of those members.
5. **Ambiguity**-assumes that turbulence and unpredictability are dominant features of organisations. There is no clarity over the objectives of institutions and their processes are not properly understood. Participation in policy making is fluid as members opt in or out of decision opportunities.
6. **Cultural**- assume that beliefs, values and ideology are at the heart of organisations. Individuals hold certain ideas and value-preferences which influence how they behave and how they view the behaviour of other members. These norms become shared traditions which are communicated within the group and are reinforced by symbols and ritual.

Summary from Bush (1995 Chapters 3 to 8)

Appendix 8: The sample of twenty teachers interviewed from Station Road FE College and St Anthony's Roman Catholic comprehensive school

Teacher's Name	Subject Area	School/college	Year's experience teaching	Other work experience
Charmaine	Business	College	8	Retail
John	English	College	11	Industrial
Jason	Business	College	5	Food Retail Military
Keith	Tourism	College	15	Import/Export
Susan	Business	College	13	Accountancy
Holly	Business	College	3	Office Suppliers
Ray	Tourism	College	6	Tour Operator
Mandeep	Business	College	4	Retail
Mikala	Maths/ALS	College	9	Health Service
Brenda	Business	College	23	Personnel Management
Alex	Business	College	12	Car Manufacturing
Sebastian	English	School	23	Construction
Brendan	Geography	School	25	Construction
Liam	English	School	19	Retail
June	ALS	School	9	Retail
Earl	Business	School	13	Promotions
Judith	Business	College	28	Retail
Peter	Maths	School	13	University Lecturer
Alejandro	Spanish	School	3	Office admin
Francis	R. E.	School	6	Priest

Appendix 9: A comparison of different sample sizes in studies examining market relations in education

Study	Description of relevance to this study	Sample size
(Gewirtz 2002)	Values study in four schools. Chapter 3 Ethics and Ethos under the managerial school	101 ethnographic interviews 94 observational visits 16 Interviews conducted at Northwick Park school
(Gewirtz, et al. 1995)	Concepts and analytical framework for a theory of education markets. Culture of competition and entrepreneurial management.	119 cross-sectional interviews in schools within three competitive clusters of schools
(Woods, et al. 1998)	Three school case study on competition and choice.	109 Interviews
(Thrupp 1999)	Investigating the impact of policy and practices across 4 colleges in New Zealand with a varied school mix.	
(Willmott 2002)	Ethnographic research in two primary schools each lasting six months.	

Appendix 10: Mapping emergent ethical beliefs –applying the MELD schema

Data Extract Brendan

Brendan: If Follens provides good material in preparation for Ofsted, should you buy it? Yes. What's the difference between Longmans producing the stuff and Parkhill producing? We are always buying stuff. Our textbooks are basically from places like Parkhill initially. They were teachers who worked in places like Parkhill and they go and produce maths texts or whatever.

Sean: So this side steps the big publishing companies?

Brendan: That's more a matter of Economics and budget than a moral issue. That's a personnel matter and relations between departments. I would say yes if there is a good relation between English and History department.

Sean: Sell them?

Brendan: They're not? I presume the Head of English is giving them.

Sean: So you think they should not be sold? The Head of History is getting something free from the Head of English who has spent their budget.

Brendan: Everything you do in that case [...]. If the Arts department does a mural in the Drama department should they get paid for that? If they do it becomes complicated, if every department – if the people who take away students to play a game in a national league or something are the department from where those pupils come to pay the PE department? It would get so complicated. I think that within the school I would not agree with buying the stuff. You give it yes. If they want some money, unless you were very hard up, I would not pay you for it. The next time the English department wants something from History, they will say we're not giving you that unless you pay for it. Again it's the collegiality of the school. You could not operate with that sort of a system.

Sean: What this is, is the internal market, and you are saying hold on –

Brendan: That's right, you can't operate a market on business principles in a school situation. You can only do it to a certain extent, like, for example, you have a budget for a department and that sort of thing, but when it comes to an interaction between a department in every sort of sense [...] The Drama department might want to act in a play would they pay them to act in a play? No!

Sean: The potential divisiveness – but remember it's all the same children.

Brendan: Exactly. All the same children.

Table 10.1. Data extract from Brendan's discussion concerning the internal market for Ofsted materials (v8b)

Stadia	1 Pertaining to 2 Causal modes of absence 3 Polysemy of absence	Issues that arise from the data	Interpretation
First Moment 1M Being as structure	1 Non-Identity (Ontology) 2 Transfactual causality 3 Product	<i>That's right you can't operate a market on business principles in a school situation.</i> <i>... all the same children.</i>	The alterity of business is identified The concrete universality of the child as important rather than the claims for that child by each department
Second Edge 2E Being as process	1 Negativity 2 Rhythmic causality 3 Process	<i>Everything you do in that case.... If the Arts department does a mural in the Drama department should they get paid for that? If they do it becomes complicated if every department</i>	The negation of collaboration and sharing
Third Level 3L Being as a whole	1 Totality 2 Holistic causality 3 Process-in-product	<i>That's a personnel matter and relations between departments.</i> <i>Again it's the collegiality of the school. You could not operate with that sort of a system.</i>	The social relations of the school as a totality.
Fourth Dimension 4D Being as human agency	1 Transformative Agency 2 Intentional causality 3 Product-in-process	<i>I think that within the school I would not agree with buying the stuff.</i>	Praxis and the degree of autonomy.

Table 10.2. An example of applying concepts to Brendan's commentary in from dialectical critical realism to data analysis

Appendix 11: The Eight Categories of Ethical Response

<i>Stances</i>	<i>Grids</i>	<i>Way of thinking about the issue</i>	<i>Likely actions</i>
Ethical neutrality	Keeping out of trouble/ jobsworth	People decide to ignore what they see as an injustice because to raise the issue would cause them trouble.	Inaction and keeping quiet.
	Getting the job done	For example a team leader might choose not to respond to concerns raised, about the unethical behaviour of some staff working on a contract, because it would have disrupted the staff scheduling that had been planned with much difficulty.	
Ethical awareness	Dignity of persons	A sort of pop Kantianism which is triggered when it is thought that people are used as means and that their proper dignity is not respected.	Assertion of, and acting upon, one's values. Expressing surprise that others may see things differently.
	The importance of truth	The moral imperative of always telling the truth.	
	Just desserts	Rewarding people according to their merits. A form of deservingness. One respondent, working in government, regarded the catering management as feckless and shed no tears when they were threatened by competitive tendering; but he thought it unjust when the laundry, which the respondent believed provided an excellent service, lost out to an external bidder.	
Ethical convention	Professional norms	The argument that people should adhere to professional and organisational norms and standards.	Seeking advice and help from others on what the normal and acceptable response would be. Applying norms and conventions.
	Fairness	Keeping a level playing field and being fair, treating all the same.	
Ethical puzzle	Policies, rules and procedures	The belief that things are best kept ethical and proper by sticking to the rules and regulations and not bending them to allow for special cases.	Applying the rules of an organisation or institution.
	Utility	Belief in the maximisation of an objective or of utility. This is the philosophy of utilitarianism.	Calculating the consequences of an action. Acting to resolve the issue on the basis that they have the correct or best solution. The assumption is that, the correct action having been taken, this will be an end to the matter.
Ethical problem	Moral judgement	The application of moral judgement rather than the moral calculation of utility. Moral judgement, the ability to define the ethical mean proportionately is acquired through the development of virtues. One respondent argued that ethical codes were unnecessary because the organisation's staff were virtuous and honest.	Clarifying how the conflicts between different values would lead to different actions or decisions. Acting upon one's best judgement.
	Learning from moral exemplars	The argument that ethical lapses can be temporarily tolerated if people have the opportunity to learn new and better ways.	

<i>Stances</i>	<i>Grids</i>	<i>Way of thinking about the issue</i>	<i>Likely actions</i>
Ethical dilemma	Personal relationships	In a wicked world one should concentrate on the development of personal relationships. See Case study 5.1 for an example.	The emphasis of action is on maintaining discussion about the issue rather than seeking closure on it. When conflicts about issues are serious it is important to maintain good manners and interpersonal relationships.
	Ironical liberalism and pragmatism	This notion is taken from Rorty (1989). It is a view on how sanity can be maintained in a world where values are ungrounded. The key techniques are the separation of private and public domains and giving priority to 'keeping the conversation going' (Mounce, 1997: 197, 207).	
	Relativism	The argument that different cultures have different moral precepts and that what may be unethical in one culture, or organisation, may not be so in another.	
	Holism	Trying to take the whole position into account. At its most extreme it is like the Buddhist belief that great effort is needed to see beyond the illusion of fragmentation to the unity beyond (Kjønstad and Willmott, 1995: 457).	
Ethical cynicism	Façadism	One person thought others wanted to be seen to follow the proper recruitment procedures even though the person they wanted to have the job had been decided beforehand. This grid includes being economical with the truth and the belief that business involves games playing and bluffing (Carr 1968).	The cynic will withdraw from any action or decision but will snipe from the sidelines at any action or decision that others may have taken.
	Personal gain and selfishness	The argument that people are distorting situations and procedures to their own private advantage.	
Ethical negotiation	Complex politics	'There are high-level politics concerning this issue to which I am not privy—so I keep my own views to myself.' A person working with this perspective tries to steer a compromise route through the competing demands of different groups. The problems of allocating scarce car parking spaces at work are often a good example.	Seeking out others' views and supporting or acquiescing in the wishes of the most powerful.
	'Dodgy deals'	Bending rules, or acquiescing in rule bending, to accommodate the interest of powerful groups.	

Table 11.1 A Summary of the Eight Categories of Ethical Response
Reproduced from Fisher and Lovell (2003: 151-152)

Ethical stance	Summary	Example of vignette	Example of vignette
Neutrality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Bracketing issues</i> ▪ <i>Ethical closure</i> 	<i>v5 the weekend is not my concern</i>	<i>v6 advertising is the way of the world and cannot be resisted</i>
Awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Offends against intuitive duties</i> ▪ <i>Understanding of contradictions in value statements</i> 	<i>v2c a management bonus offends the sense of fairness</i>	<i>v4 selective classes offends against the duty to teach all students</i>
Convention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Applying accepted norms</i> ▪ <i>Appealing to professional standards</i> 	<i>v7 shaming staff breaks standards of professional respect</i>	<i>v8c whistle-blowing should be seen in relation to the norms of meeting confidentiality</i>
Puzzle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Appealing to technical solutions</i> ▪ <i>Sticking to set procedures</i> 	<i>v1 cohort fixing a technical solution to league tables</i>	<i>v3 contracting out learning support a cost solution</i>
Problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Conundrum with no optimum solution</i> ▪ <i>Involves many different values and principles</i> 	<i>v2 the need to debate widely over a vote of no confidence</i>	<i>v8b the internal market focuses on exchange but removes collaboration</i>
Dilemma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Involves difficult choices</i> ▪ <i>The clash of conventions and supporting one group</i> 	<i>v2 to collectively express no confidence or make personal representations</i>	<i>v3 cost cutting of staff versus the removal of stable relationships</i>
Cynicism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>To take a detached view</i> ▪ <i>To consider the issues as a façade</i> 	<i>v2b view point that Ofsted as a game cannot rectify problems</i>	<i>v5 the weekend as a façade of contrived collegiality</i>
Negotiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Protect self-interest</i> ▪ <i>Attempting to create a consensus and compromise</i> 	<i>v2b too complicated politics best not to get involved</i>	<i>v6 adverts as a dodgy deal that harm students but benefit school funds</i>

Table 11.2 A Summary of the Eight Ethical Stances with Two Examples of where Teachers Adopted a Particular Stance in Relation to a Specific Vignette.

Appendix 12: Analysis of Brenda’s responses to the sale of Ofsted preparation materials (Vignette 8)

<p>What does Brenda think is wrong about the issue?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Schools following a consultancy model” <i>Ethical Negotiation –Dodgy Deal</i> <i>The self-consciousness of personal gain for the school</i> ▪ “Resources should be distributed by LEA” <i>Ethical Convention –keeping a level playing field for all schools</i> ▪ “Deficit risk taking is not educational” <i>Ethical Problem –Moral Judgement and developing a principle rather than a calculation</i> 	<p>What does Brenda think should be said and done in the given circumstances?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Expertise should be shared and not sold” <i>Ethical Dilemma –Personal relationships should be developed to the common good</i> ▪ “Resources should be centrally funded” <i>Ethical convention- achieving the common good by pooling resources</i> ▪ “Contribute to costs rather than selling the materials” <i>Ethical Cynicism-Facadism. Some agreement to help with costs of materials but against the internal market</i> ▪ “A meeting to discuss deficit issues” <i>Ethical problem- all values and perspectives should be aired about this problem</i>
<p>What options are there for action?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “A meeting to discuss deficit issues” <i>Ethical problem- all values and perspectives should be aired about this problem</i> ▪ “Avoid whistle blowing” <i>Ethical Neutrality-Keeping out of trouble</i> ▪ “Push the issues outwards and not down” <i>Ethical Problem-discuss with all stakeholders the problems of the deficit rather than leave the burden on staff</i> 	<p>What are the expectations of other stakeholders?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “Management only interested in their grades” <i>Ethical Cynicism-Personal gain motivates management rather than the common good</i> ▪ “Board of governors and the demands of confidentiality” <i>Ethical Convention –Professional norms demand that information in a meeting should remain confidential</i> ▪ “Communication expected by all staff” <i>Ethical Convention/Dilemma-Holism. For the common good all the staff should be involved in discussing deficit issues</i>

Next to the bullet point appear phrases quoted from Brenda, then underneath is a categorisation of the ethical stance

Appendix 13: Summary of the dominant stances adopted by Brenda in relation to each of the eight vignettes

Vignette	Dominant stance	Absence	Alethia
1. Testing	Ethical dilemma	Of inclusion/attention to common good	Ethic of the local and community embeddedness
2. Ofsted –no confidence	Ethical negotiation	Of trust/communication/equity	Management work as inauthentic
	Ethical cynicism	Of participation with formulating corporate goals	Interdependence of working relations
	Ethical problem	Of influence on management change from inside	Master–slave relations
3. ALS	Ethical dilemma	Of totality of common good	Need for stable relations
4. C/D	Ethical puzzle	Of entitlement to lessons/the social ontology of the students	The totality of relations and interdependence of subjects
5. Weekend	Ethical neutrality	Of private self	The core business of teaching
6. Adverts	Ethical awareness	Of integrity	Ethic of care
7. Shaming	Ethical convention	Of social ontology/variability	Ethic of collegiality
8. Ofsted - materials	Ethical convention	Of authenticity	Staff are the most conversant with school processes and activities.

Appendix 14: Summary of the characteristics of particular types of moral ethos (based on an analytical approach) (Snell 1993: 86)

Feature	Stage one Fear- ridden	Stage two Advantag e driven	Stage three Members only	Stage four Regulated	Stage five Quality- seeking	Stage six Soul- searching
Tightness/To ne	Get job done at all costs	Permissive indulgence			Right-on rigour	Thoughtful self regulation
Deference to hierarchy/Pos itional abuse.	Oppression coercion	Grafting, 'horse- trading'	Paternalistic example- setting			Reflective space
Spread of trust/Depend ence on allegiance	Cold tedium	Secretive scheming		Friendly non- challenge	Tough- open debate	
Regulatory formalisation/ Adherence		Anything goes	Façade, hypocrisy; or implicitly patterned	Strictly rule bound		Implicitly patterned
Respect for dignity/integr ity/Intensity of political stakes	Combat arena	Sour anarchy			Supportive community	Intimate confrontation
Concentration of power/Need for stability	Rigid command	Chopping and changing	Close bonding		Close bonding	Flux and transformation
Breadth of constituency/ Openness to criticism		Impact and profit led	Public- image conscious	Value for money	Dialogue seeking	Dialogue seeking
Demands on loyalty/Develo pmental openness	Unquestion- ing conformity	Instrumental calculation			Symbiotic relationship	Self- investment

Appendix 15: Absence of ethical principles in relation to the sixteen dimensions with reference to the vignettes

Dimension	Vignette	Commentary
Tightness	3/7	Absence of loose ethos -overbearing performativity
Tone	4/7	Absence of shared responsibility-individual accountability
Deference to hierarchy	2b/8c	Absence of collegiality- overbearing performativity
Positional abuse	2c/5	Absence of equity- maintaining distance, control over the access of resources
Spread of trust	1/2a	Absence of trust in and from management – suspicion
Dependence on allegiance	3/5	Absence of consultation- programmed directives
Regulatory formalisation	2a/8a	Absence of initiative/creativity-handbooks of instructions
Degree of adherence	5/7	Absence of individuality (concrete singularity) – rule bound paperwork
Respect for dignity/integrity	3/7	Absence of acknowledgement/care –partial treatment of staff
Intensity of political stakes	1/8b	Absence of collaboration- performance threshold related pay
Concentration of power	2 a/8c	Absence of dialogue- distance relations
Need for stability	3/5	Absence of bonding- increased peripheralisation
Breadth of constituency	1/6	Absence of embedded locality -marketing relations
Openness to criticism	4/7	Absence of voice- overbearing performativity
Demands on loyalty	2b/5	Absence of individuality –instrumental monitoring
Developmental openness	3/8 b	Absence of consultation- programmed teaching

Appendix 16: A mapping of the categories of trust as used by Bottery (2004) and Bhaskar (1993)

Bottery	Bhaskar	Vignette examples of a lack of this type of trust
Calculative – summarised in the metaphor of a logician	Abstract – trust in expert systems of which the trustor has no knowledge and which is accepted purely on the basis of instrumental reason either out of necessity or as a result of perceived efficacy in the past.	A lack of trust in abstract expert testing systems . <i>v1 "Brendan: The problem about Grangehill secondary school administering a cognitive abilities test at presumably 11 years of age is no way is it predictive of what pupils will do in their next ten or even twenty years."</i>
Role – summarised in the metaphor of a professional	Mediated – trust in domains such as the realm of economics and politics, where the trustor is the active participant, knows something about the mechanisms at work and has good grounds for scepticism about their fiduciariness or reliability and that of those in power.	A lack of trust in Ofsted processes scepticism about the fiduciariness of assessments. <i>v8 "Judith: I have disquiet about because I don't have any confidence in Ofsted [...] I must be one of the most experienced teachers in the country [...] This feeling of why on earth should you be judged by your inferiors?"</i>
Practice – summarised in the gardener metaphor of cultivation	Concrete – trust, ideally singularised, such as is shown in the solidarity entailed by the expressively veracious judgement or in the totalising depth praxis its grounds imply.	A lack of trust between management and the managed in preparing for Ofsted, the absence of solidarity. <i>v2 "Jason: [...] remarks made by management 'don't shoot yourself in the foot. My comment was I'm not shooting myself but I'm shooting you in the foot."</i>
Identificatory – summarised in the musician metaphor of playing together	Personalised – trust such as is expressed in relations of intimacy, demonstrated in phenomena such as personal loyalty, in friendships and acts of nurture and care in primary polyadisation.	A lack of trust in the use of resources by personally named managers. <i>v8 "Liam: Mr C on the mobile phone all the time but he said 'I don't care the school pays my bill' [...] There are a lots of things the school is paying for that I don't know about and I would be very concerned."</i>

Appendix 17: A Mapping of forms of alienation

Causal chain	1M Non-identity	2E Negativity	3L Totality	4D Transformative Agency
Four-planar social being	<i>d. (Intra)-subjectivity (stratified person)</i>	<i>c. social relations</i>	<i>b. Intra-/intersubjective (personal) relations</i>	<i>a. material transactions with nature (making)</i>
Alienation	<i>d. ourselves (5)</i>	<i>c. the nexus of social relations (4)</i>	<i>b. each other (3)</i>	<i>a. the labour process: labour and its product(-in -process) (1)</i> <i>material and means of production (2)</i>
Forms of alienated (split) consciousness	<i>Extra-jection</i>	<i>Retro-jection</i>	<i>Intro-jection</i>	<i>Pro-jection</i>
Modes of untruth	<i>Of an object or being to its essential nature</i>	<i>About an object or being (at any one level of reality)</i>	<i>Untrust-worthiness</i>	<i>In an objector being (at that level of reality)</i>
Truth tetrapolity – truth as	<i>Ontological, alethic (ID)</i>	<i>Adequating (warrantedly assertible) or epistemic (TD)</i>	<i>Normative – fiduciary (ID)</i>	<i>Expressive – referential (TD/ID)</i>

Table 17.1: Fivefold alienation with some MELD correspondences (adapted from Hartwig 2007f: 27)

Alienation

1. [d] from ourselves (IM)

Mikala: "As a good Catholic I have to get my head around it. I try not to write untruths which I know other people do and massage the figures. But the temptation is there" (v7).

2. [c] from our social relations (2E)

Liam: "It's very difficult to draw the line because there are a lot of people who have a stake in the school rather than just the management. Particularly if management are arrogant, autocratic, they sort of do whatever they want, they run roughshod over the past, over tradition, they destroy the careers of very many good people, they are cruel to particular kids" (v2).

3. [b] from each other (3L)

June: "I found that because it (ALS) is marginalised everybody thinks that anybody can do it. If there is a lost soul and they don't know what to do with that person well stick him into support" (v3).

4. [a] (i) from labour and its products (4D)

John: "The people that make work in any factory, in any office, in any school for that matter are the people who do the work. If every manager decided to go off sick tomorrow this place would still work. If every member of staff went ff sick, the whole place would grind to a halt" (v2).

(ii) from the means and materials of production

Alex: "So at the end of the day I do feel aggrieved with the stuff here because really a lot of managers they do not give us the resources that we need "(v2).

5. Self-alienation

Mandeep: "I don't like all this business a weekend away. I think its even worse when it comes into education. It sort of makes it feel like a business type thing that's going on"(v5).

Table 17.2. Data illustrating the fivefold forms of alienation

Appendix 18: The TDCR inflexion of the four stadia of the MELD system (adapted from Hartwig 2007f: 175)

The Ontological-Axiological chain	1M First Moment: Non-Identity	2E Second Edge: Negativity	3L Third Level: Totality	4D Fourth Dimension Transformativ e Agency	5A Fifth Aspect: Reflexivity
Thinking being as	such & in general	process + as for IM	a whole + as for 2E	praxis + as for 3L	spiritual + as for 4D
Basic human capacities (ground state qualities)	freedom (enfolded as potential) (negative competition)	creativity	love	spontaneous right action (without attachment)	fulfilment (self-realisation, enlightenment) (positive completion)
Non-dual components of action/(modes of transcendence)	transcendental consciousness of real self (loss of ego) transcendence inwards & outwards	transcendental identification in consciousness (away from subjectivity) transcendence outwards	transcendental team work or holism transcendence with – organic, holistic transcendence	transcendental agency (absorption in activity) transcendence in an activity – just doing/being; ergonic efficiency	transcendental retreat into self-identity (away from objectivity) transcendence inwards
Vignette four commentary in terms of responses that demonstrate transcendence	<i>"so long as your students pass and they achieve something, we feel good and we feel better than the students"</i> (Alex)	<i>"so long as they are doing it for the benefit of the student rather than benefit themselves"</i> (Alex)	<i>"I am not jealous of somebody getting more pay than me"</i> (Alex)	<i>"its not that the teacher becomes better after 3.30. Its just that the teacher has more time to spend with those students instead of an hour, an hour and a half, two hours"</i> (Alex)	

Appendix 19: Glossary of terms used in *Dialectic the Pulse of Freedom* (Bhaskar 1993)

This glossary defines critical realist concepts used throughout the thesis. It draws heavily on the forthcoming Dictionary of Critical Realism (March 2007) and I am grateful to Mervyn Hartwig for his kind permission to reproduce some significant pieces from his pre-publication drafts.

MELD. The *ontological-axiological* or *causal-axiological chain*, comprising four degrees or *stadia* (pl. Gr. *stadion*, also L. *stadium*, a measure of length): 1M *first moment*, 2E *second edge*, 3L *third level*, and 4D *fourth dimension*. *Moment* signifies something finished, behind us, determinate – a *product: transfactual* (structural) *causality*, pertaining to *NON-IDENTITY*; *first* is for *founding*. *Edge* speaks of the point of transition or becoming, the exercise of causal powers in *rhythmic (processual) causality*, pertaining to *NEGATIVITY*. *Level* announces an emergent whole with its own specific determinations, capable of reacting back on the materials from which it is formed – *process-in-product: holistic causality*, pertaining to *TOTALITY*. *Dimension* singles out a geo-historically recent form of causality – *product-in-process: human intentional causality*, transformative AGENCY or praxis.

Thus the MELD moments indicate different modes of ABSENTING or CAUSALITY – of the unfolding of being – and corresponding concepts, constituting the ontological-axiological chain in a *four-sided dialectic* which non-preservatively sublates the Hegelian three-termed dialectic (identity, negativity, totality). Or, the theory of MELD builds on the Hegelian CONCRETE UNIVERSAL (universality, particular mediations, singularity [UPS]), crucially adding processuality (such that UPMS, where 'M' stands for 'mediation') and distinguishing *human* agency or concrete singularity (4D) as an emergent level of concrete singularity in general. This is in the spirit of the Marxian critique of Hegel (see HEGEL-MARX CRITIQUE). 2E is the hub of this chain. It not only unifies it in that 'the whole circuit of 1M-4D links and relations' (Bhaskar 1993: 392) can be derived from absence, but itself reflects the other moments and itself: its concepts constitute a stratified hierarchy (1M), it is 'dynamic in its essence' (2E), 'coheres the system as a whole' (3L), and 'includes transformative praxis, oriented to change' (4D) (Ibid: 250). Like all CR concepts, the four moments possess a TD/ID bivalence, speaking both of constructs for thinking being and of real interrelated distinctions within it. It is important to view the schema diachronically, not just synchronically; i.e., not just analytically as indicating different moments of being-becoming, but dialectically in terms of (1) the development of the CR system, such that each

successor stadion presupposes or preservatively sublates its predecessor: 4D > 3L > 2E > 1M; and (2) the unfolding of being as such (structure is ontologically deeper than its actualisation at 2E, and 3L and 4D speak of emergent levels that are by definition diachronically more recent).

Alphabetical lists of key concepts by stadion and the critique of irrealism (the denegation of 1M-4D) appear below and this illustrates how the four stadion are committed in Western philosophy, which denegate or suppresses a series of necessary aspects of reality (e.g., alterity/ transfactuality, absence/ spatio-temporality, totality/ intra-activity, agency/ sociality) along the four moments of the concrete universal and consequently has the effect of destratification.

Alphabetical list of key concepts by stadion and the critique of Irrealism

Note. The lists are fairly comprehensive, but not exhaustive. Location of concepts should not be hypostatized.

1M absence (product); abstract, abstraction; alethic truth (alethia); alterity (difference); analogical grammar; anti-anthropism; atomism, ontological and sociological; autonomy (essential); being; being as intrinsically valuable (enchantment); (human) capacities (e.g., for cognition, language-acquisition, perception, etc.); causal law, causal power (extrinsic aspect); CEP; change (product); constellational identity; core universal human nature; de-onts; depth, depth-realism (vertical realism); disposition; (differentiation of) domains of real > actual > empirical/semiotic; emergence (product); epistemology; essence; explanation; fictive beings; generative mechanism; freedom (human capacity for); four-planar human nature; ground, grounding; intransitivity (ID/TD distinction); intra-structure; hyperreality; level; liability; material and formal causes; method; moral alethia (truth); moral realism; natural kinds; natural necessity; non-identity; ontological depth; onts; ontological realism; objectivity; ontology; ontological grammar; openness; possibility (*potentia*, potentiality); potential (as for capacity); power₁; primacy or priority (ontological); product (absence); praxis (qua capacity); psyche; real definition; realism; reality principle (epistemologically mediated alethic truth); referential detachment (the capacity for); relationality (internal relationality); science; social structure; stratification & differentiation; stratification of personality (plane d), four-planar social being); stratum; structuratum; structure; superstructure; synchronic emergent powers materialism (product, powers of mind); PEP; taxonomy; tendency_a; thrownness; transcendently real self; transfactuality, transfactual causality (mode of absence), transfactual realism (horizontal realism); truth (ontological/alethic); ultimata; (dialectical) universality (first moment, concrete universal); virtuality; will.

Critique of irrealism and its social context: actualism; anthropism; anthropocentrism; anthroporealism; anthro-ethno-ego-present-centrism; arch of knowledge; auto-subversion; centrism; conceptual actualism; conceptual realism; constant conjunction; destratification; empirical realism; empiricism; epistemic-ontic fallacy (denegation of ontology, moment of unholy trinity); expressive unity; false beings; fideism; fluxism; fusion; historicism; homology; (subject-object) identity theory; monism (linked with reductionism); positivistic illusion; primal squeeze (moment of

unholy trinity); reductionism; regress; scientism; solipsism; speculative illusion; stasis; Stoicism; transcendent realism; transdictive complex; (abstract) universality.

2E absence, absenting (process); aporia; autopoiesis; becoming; bivalence; boundary state; causal chain, causality, causation; change (process); conatus; conjunctural determination; contradiction; constraint; co-presence; creativity; critique; determination; desire; development; developmental consistency; developmental negation, subject-developmental negation; dialectical arguments; directionality; efficient and final causes; dialectical explanation; diffraction (of dialectics); dispositional identity; distanciation; embedding/disembedding; emergence/disemergence (process); entropy/negentropy; epistemic relativity; equivocity; evolution; existential constitution, existential permeation, existential connection; finitude; frontier; gap; geo-historicity; hiatus; hiatus-in-the-duality; intra-structuration (process); loco-periodisation; mentality; mind/thought; needs; negation, negativity; negation of the negation; negative and positive freedom; negative generalisation; nesting; node, δ node, ontological polyvalence; onto-logic; opposition; (ontological) perspectivality; presence of the future; presence of the past and outside; primal scream; primary polyadisation; process (absence, absenting), processuality (second moment, concrete universal); reality principle (epistemologically mediated alethic truth); reciprocity; recursivity; reversal; rhythmic, rhythmic causality (mode of absence); rhythmic identity; self-referentiality or -emancipation; self-transformation; social cube; social relations (plane (c), four-planar social being); spatio-temporality; spread; stretch; stretch-spread; super-structuration; temporality; tendency_b; tense; TMSA; threshold, totality; transition; transform; transformation; tri-unity of causality, space and time; truth (adequating); vehicular thrownness; void; wants.

Critique of irrationalism and its social context: absolutism; antinomy; anomaly; attachment; blockism; chiasmus; closure; complicity; denegation; de-processualisation; de-negativisation (positivisation); dialectical contradiction; dilemma; dualism; duplicity; endism; equivocation; eternisation; fetishism; fixism; foundationalism, fundamentalism; ideological intersect; inversion; master-slave-type (power₂) relations; logicism; monism (entails and entailed by ontological monovalence); ontological monovalence; opposition (ideological); plasticity; problematic of presence; reification; reversal; Scepticism; split; theory-practice inconsistency or contradiction (performative contradiction); Tina syndrome; triumphalism; unseriousness.

3L absence, absenting (process-in-product); alienation; argument; attachment; autonomy; bipolarity; boundary; conceptuality; (general) conceptual scheme; concrete; concrete utopianism; concretion; consciousness; consistency, coherence; connection, connectivity; consequence explanation; constellational identity; constellationality; de-alienation; dialectical reason (the unity of theory and practice in practice); dialogicality; dual control; (constellational) duality or unity; duality of theory and practice; ecology; emergence (process-in-product); emotion; eudaimonia (highest form of freedom); explanatory critique; flourishing (mode of freedom); formal and material causes; heterocosm; holistic causality (mode of absence, extrinsic aspect); homonymy; hyperrealisation; identity; ideological intersect; indexicality; indivisibility of freedom; inter-relationality, intra-activity (contingent mediations); internal relationality (intra-relationality, intra-activity) (necessary mediations); intra-/inter-

subjective relations (plane (b), four-planar social being); love; meaning; mediation (third moment, concrete universal), hence concrete universality as such; mediatisation; meta-reflexively totalising situation; meta-reflexivity; multiple control; nexus; permeation; perspectival switch; phronesis; process-in-product (absence, absenting); rationality, reason; reality principle (epistemologically mediated alethic truth); research programme; recognition; reflection, reflexivity (inwardised form of totality); relative autonomy; resonance; self, self-consciousness; self-realisation; social cube; sociosphere; sophrosyne; subjectivity-objectivity; system, systematicity; tendency_c; theory; totality, synchronic emergent powers materialism (mind, process-in-product); totalisation (de-totalisation, retotalisation); truth (normative-fiduciary); trust; unity-in-diversity; universalisability; virtualisation; well-being (mode of freedom).

Critique of irrealism and its social context: alienation; analytical problematic; Beautiful Soul; compartmentalisation; (illicit) de-mediation; demi-reality; (illicit) detachment; de-totalisation; dialectical antagonists; duplicity; false consciousness; fission; fragmentation; grafting; hedonism; heterology; heteronomy; Ideology; Immersion (in meanings), logocentrism; irreflexivity; ontological extensionalism (denegation of totality); punctualism; scepticism; split; supplementarity.

4D absence, absenting (product-in-process); action; actionability; agency (transformative praxis); autonomy (self-determination); axiology; concrete singularity (fourth moment, concrete universal); counter-hegemonic struggle; critique; depth-investigation, depth-praxis, dialectics of freedom; dialectical reason (the unity of theory and practice in practice); emancipation (mode of freedom); emancipatory axiology; embodiment; emergence (product-in-process); final and efficient causes; hermeneutics; hermeneutic circles; hermeneutic counter-hegemonic struggle; humanism; immanence; intentional causality (mode of absence, extrinsic aspect), intentionality; intrinsic aspect; judgemental rationalism; material transactions with nature (making – plane (a) four-planar social being); metacritics; metaphysics α (underlabouring), metaphysics β (criticism of research conceptual schemas); moral alethia (freedom); poesis; praxis (qua activity); objectification; prefigurationality; product-in-process (absence, absenting); re-agentification (re-centrificalisation, re-empowerment); reality principle (epistemologically mediated alethic truth); referential detachment (deployment of the capacity for); right-action; self-overcoming; subjectivity; tendency_d; this-worldliness; transitivity; truth (expressive-referential); underlabouring.

Critique of irrealism and its social context: anti-humanism; axiological contradictions or inconsistencies; de-agentification (denegation of agentive agency); disembodiment; de-singularisation; eternisation; fact-form; genetic fallacy; hegemony (qua agential project); historicism; hypostatisation; irrationalism (epistemological, judgemental, practical); naturalisation; normalisation of status quo; other-worldliness; reification; scientism; triumphalism; Unhappy Consciousness.

Absence: Negation and negativity are central to all dialectics. Real negation or absence has a fourfold meaning: (1) product – simple absence or real determinate absence or non-being; (2) process – simple absenting, the process of absenting, distancing or mediating; (3) process-in-product e.g. an absence of fertile land or desert existentially constituted by its geo-history and context; (4) product-in-process e.g. the desertified region in process, i.e. exercising its causal powers.

Actualism: (a) The view that causal laws are constant conjunctions of events. (b) The view that the domain of the real is exhausted by the domain of the actual, i.e. possibility and necessity are reduced to an actuality comprised either of events and states of affairs (the dominant empiricist form of actualism), or of concepts and signs, or of will to power.

Alethia: The truth of things as distinct from propositions. For Bhaskar (1975: 249) 'a proposition is true if and only if the state of affairs that it expresses (describes) is real'.

Causality: The characteristic way(s) of acting possessed by things (whether particulars/natural kinds or systems) in virtue of their intrinsic structures (relations between internal elements); the irreducible property whereby entities generate or prevent (offset), enable or constrain, effects. Structures, including social structures possess causal powers/liabilities and tendencies.

Closed system: The situation where the operation of a causal mechanism can be studied independently of external influences. Closed systems are rare in nature, and scientific experiments are attempts to create them artificially. [Benton and Craib 2001]

Concrete universal↔singular: The moments of CR's concrete universal comprise a multiple quadruplicity corresponding to the 1M-4D modes of being/becoming: *universality* (1M non-identity), *processuality* (2E negativity), *mediation* (3L totality), (concrete) *singularity* (4D transformative agency, but also betokening result or outcome generally). The logic of concrete singularity is to treat all individuals, though sharing a common humanity, as ethically different, not –as in Kantian ethics- the same.

Contradiction: Any kind of dissonance, strain or tension.

Constraint/ Enablement. A constraint is 'an absolute or relative prohibition, whether natural or social and remediable or not' (Bhaskar 1993: 396). An enablement by contrast makes something possible. When subscripts are used to distinguish constraints that are operative in the human world from other forms of constraint. Constraint 1 (corresponding to power 1) refers to the capacity to constrain as such, whether by a social form or not. Constraint 2 (corresponding to power 2) refers to social constraints and in particular the constraining power of master-slave type relations.

Co-presence: The co-occurrence of the absence and presence of something. 'What is present from one perspective, at one level, in some region may be absent from, at or in another' (Bhaskar 1993: 48).

Dialectic: At once argument, change and freedom, each of which 'rationally presupposes its predecessor' (Bhaskar 1993: 377) unified by the concept of absence. Thus argument involves the absenting of mistakes, change absents states of affairs, and the process of freedom absents constraints or ills, which can be seen as absence.

Distanciation: Connotes the play of absence and presence as between (a) stretching (time) or spreading (space) and thereby extending presence or embedding. (b) distancing and thereby absenting and possibly disembedding which may involve shrinkage or compression.

Emancipation: The transformation from unwanted, unneeded and/or oppressive sources of determination to wanted, needed and/or liberating ones.

Emergence, emergent power, emergent property: When elements are combined together into more complex entities, the latter often have properties which are qualitatively distinct from those of the original elements. This is known as 'emergence' and the properties which 'emerge' in this way are 'emergent properties', or 'powers' – a new level of organisation. [Benton and Craib 2001]

Explanatory critique: This emphasises the close logical connection between some forms of social explanation and the adoption of a critical, normative standpoint in relation to the phenomenon explained. It is a critique of a phenomenon that follows from diagnosing that it is part of the explanation of why a false belief is held (cognitive explanatory critique), or why some social or personal ill persists (needs based explanatory critique).

Fission/fusion: The former involves the absence of a distinction producing a false totality. The latter involves the absence of a connection producing a split or detotalised totality. Fission involves the representation of universal interests as sectional. Fusion involves the representation of sectional interests as universal.

Four-planar social being or the social tetrapolity or human nature: The four dialectically distinct but interdependent planes of human nature:

[a] the plane of material transactions with nature;

[b] the plane of inter-/intra-subjective (personal) actions;

[c] the plane of social relations;

[d] the plane of the subjectivity of the agent.

These four interdependent planes that constitute social life are presented as a theory of human nature which is a necessary condition of any moral discourse.

(1)Intransitive and (2) transitive dimensions: (1)Real objects of scientific knowledge, which are held to exist and act independently of our beliefs about them. (2)Those features of human agents, their social practices and conceptual means which are involved in the production of knowledge, by contrast with the 'objects' about which knowledge is sought. [Benton and Craib 2001]

Ontological Monovalence: Bhaskar's term of art for the doctrine that being is purely positive and presen and there could be no positive without negative existence. Bhaskar explains that within being there are intervals, voids, pauses, desire, lack and need. An example given is as follows:

'Consider a book in a library. It typically involves an absent (and possibly dead) author, an absent reception necessary for its presence in the library, and absences –spaces inside and in between sequences of marks –necessary for its intelligibility, its readability' (Bhaskar 1993: 5)

Master–slave: Bhaskar gives a rationale for generalised master –slave relations as (1) applies quite generally to attitudes in reality towards contemporary orientations to relations of domination, exploitation, subjugation, and control, i.e. Stoicism, Scepticism, and the Unhappy Consciousness. (2) It enables us to pinpoint a characteristic feature of the capitalist mode of production: the exploitative relation intrinsic to the wage-labour/capital contract is hidden in the level of inter-personal transactions by fetishism and the causally efficacious category mistakes upon which it depends.

Power: Power₁ refers to the general causal powers of human agency whose characteristics entail the possibility of human emancipation such as the capacity to investigate, communicate, plan, construct moral and ethical systems, feel and care for others and come to agreement based on judgementally rational argument directed at practices that transform our lived circumstances. Power₂ refers to negative characteristics such as domination, subjugation, exploitation, and control that can be identified in given social structures.

Process: Directional absencing or change or the mode of spatio-temporalising structure. It is thus where structure meets events, the mode of becoming, bestaying and begoing of a structure of thing i.e. of its genesis in, distancing over and transformation across space-time. It is not an ontological category apart from structure and event; it just is structure, considered under the aspect of its story –of formation, reformation, and transformation in time, during the course of which it may acquire supervenient causal powers. It may be substantial (geo-historical transformation) or non-substantial (action-at-a-distance and intra-activity), and is sometimes deployed to refer to spatial alteriorisation or distancing. It is irreducibly tensed.

Reality: A 'potentially infinite totality of which we know something but not how much' (Bhaskar 1993: 15).

Reasons as causes: Bhaskar (1993: 278) believes that humans have the ability to change real things –'the intentionality of praxis is shown in the capacity to transform the world in a way which [...] would not have otherwise have occurred'. Because of this Bhaskar maintains that the reasons people have for doing things are analogous to the causal structures of nature, and that it is possible to have empirical knowledge of them. 'So reasons belong to the causal order, cohabit and interact with other causes in the open system of the world. They are explicable in terms of, but irreducible to, deeper strata of the social (and also ultimately the natural) world' (Collier 1994: 155). [Shipway 2002]

Retroduction: A form of inferential argument which starts with some phenomenon, or pattern, and poses the question 'What sort of process, mechanism, agency, and so on, if it existed, would have this phenomenon as a consequence?' The conclusions are not logically necessary, but it offers a rational process for devising candidate explanations. [Benton and Craib 2001]

Tendency. A causal power is a potential that may be exercised or not. A tendency in its primary meaning, is a causal power exercised or set in motion –transfactually efficacious (operating in open as well as closed systems) and so normically qualified (it may be offset by the operation of other powers). Regardless of the outcome at the level of the actual, something is really going on (causal or generative mechanisms may refer to either a power or tendency or both, Powers, tendencies, and mechanisms are normally instantiated in structures. Tendency₁ is the base concept itself, i.e., a transfactually efficacious, normically qualified power. Tendency₂ is a power ready to be exercised (its intrinsic enabling conditions are satisfied). Tendency₃ a power prone to be exercised (its extrinsic enabling conditions are satisfied in addition). Tendency₄ a motivated power (its intrinsic stimulating and releasing conditions are satisfied in addition). Tendency₅ a power whose exercise is lapsed or lagged.

Tina syndrome: There Is No Alternative. The intention is to show that there are, after all, alternatives. The specification of its tendential logic has three basic premises. (1) We must act. (2) When we act, we encounter natural necessity (which pertains to the sociosphere and nature alike and is existentially and/or causally independent of our beliefs), which we must act in conformity with. And (3) if we get our account of (2) fundamentally wrong and do not correct our mistake, we are forced into a series of endless theoretical and/or practical compromises. The upshot is a cumulative, emergent meshwork of figures and concepts that is incoherent yet indispensable to our way of being.

TMSA (Transformational Model of Social Activity): The model of social and societal features which presents social action as conditioned, situated and temporalised. Social structures and individual agency are mutually dependent, but should not be confused with each other, or run together. Social action is possible only by virtue of the existence of social structures, but social structures likewise persist only by virtue of the actions of individuals. In general, individual actors reproduce or transform social structures, but this is not necessarily, or even usually, their purpose in acting. [Benton and Craib 2001]

Totalities: May provisionally be described as systems of internal relations, where the relata are linked through, and engaged in, different forms of intra-activity, operating through various holistic determination.

Transcendence: Bhaskar argues we have the capacity to experience non-dual states. By non-dual states he means varieties of fundamental connections with what we otherwise perceive dualistically (from the position of the egoistic 'I') as a discrete external environment. These connections take the form of 'transcendental identification' which he sees us engaging in all the time without realizing it. For Bhaskar, the 'without conscious thought' yet focussed activity we engage in when we listen, read, watch, negotiate crowds, participate in team sports, play musical instruments, etc, all entail a basic element of identity that is more than simply discrete elements of a physical universe interacting. It is rather an indication of rhythms of a fundamental inter-penetration of being that is the basic condition of the possibility of that identity. The fundamental logic is that unless we are connected in some way we could not connect (Morgan 2003:124-125). There are four main forms of transcendence:

1. *Transcendence into-* that is the retreat of a being from objectivity, back into self-identity, with his or its own subjectivity;
2. *Transcendence onto-* that is the advance of a subject's consciousness into total absorption into objectivity, something outside himself. This is transcendental identification in consciousness;
3. *Transcendence at, in or on-* total focus or attention on an act, or an act which is spontaneously performed. This is transcendental or non-dual agency (or ergonic transcendence);
4. *Transcendence with-* this is transcendental unity in an activity, involving teamwork or holistic transcendence. This is exemplified by teamwork. (Bhaskar 2002c:4-5).

Trust: There are four kinds of trust distinguished and corresponding to 1M-4D. (1) abstract trust in expert systems of which one has no knowledge; (2) mediated trust in domains e.g. economics and politics, of which one has some (sceptical) knowledge; (3) concrete, 'ideally singularised', trust, exemplified in solidarity; and (4) personalised trust, e.g. friendly, caring or nurturing relationships.

Truth: 'An adequate theory of the truth must take into account the fact that it is a many-layered concept, in which there are four basis components which I will nominate the truth tetrapolity:

(α) truth as *normative –fiduciary*, truth in the 'trust me-act on it' sense. Trust is of course itself a complex concept, [...] but we can take its paradigmatic locutionary force here to be intersubjective communication.

(β) truth as *adequating*, as 'warrantedly assertible', as epistemological, as relative in the intransitive dimension.

(γ) truth as *referential-expressive*, as a bipolar ontic-epistemic dual, and in this sense as absolute;

(δ) truth as *ontological*, no longer tied to language –use per se and in the sense objective and in the intransitive dimension, typically achievable when referential detachment occurs; and a special case of which is

(δ') truth as *alethic*, i.e. the truth of or reason for things, people and phenomena generally (including science most importantly causal structures and generative mechanisms), not propositions '(Bhaskar 1994: 63-64).